


## THE LIBRARY.

MARTIN MARPRELATE AND  
SHAKESPEARE'S FLUELLEN.<sup>1</sup>

A NEW THEORY OF THE AUTHORSHIP  
OF THE MARPRELATE TRACTS.

### V.

HE reader who has followed the argument of the previous article will, I think, be prepared to admit that, though absolute proof is at present impossible, the series of remarkable coincidences there noted form a very strong chain of circumstantial evidence in favour of identifying Martin Marprelate with Sir Roger Williams. We started, it will be remembered, from the broken sentences of Martin's theses, and clambering up through the loophole they provided, we found ourselves on a path leading to strange and unexpected places. It took us to the walls of Lisbon with Drake and Norris, to the camp of Henry of Navarre, to the court of the great Queen, to the

<sup>1</sup> Continued from page 151.

auditorium of the Globe Theatre, to the brain of Shakespeare himself. It was, in fact, no by-path, but the very highway of Elizabethan life and action. Let us now retrace our steps, descend again into the dim underworld of Martinist conspiracy, and, bearing the new theory like a lamp in our hands, see if we cannot throw light into corners which before seemed impenetrably dark. For there is still much to clear up in this business. The story of the Marprelate publications has hitherto been told in ignorance of Martin's identity; we have now to show that our theory not only fits all the facts as we know them, but brings out the significance of many obscure points. Again, the seven tracts have up to the present been attributed to one author; we are now in a position to prove that three writers were involved, to discover who they were and to indicate the exact tracts or portions of tracts which each contributed. In a word, once Martin Marprelate himself has been run to earth, his accomplices can be arrested and the whole plot exposed.

It will be convenient to begin this second stage of our enquiry with an examination of the style of the tracts. 'The Protestation,' which is the last of all, may be reserved for later consideration, since it has its own features and problems; but a study of 'The Epistle,' 'The Epitome,' and 'Hay any worke,' published it will be recollected between October 1588, and the end of March 1589, and of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior,' published in July 1589, will yield us results confirming the clues we already have in hand, and furnishing us

with new clues to go on with. According to our theory, the earlier group were written by Sir Roger Williams, and the later by two other men who called themselves his 'sons.' We have first to ask ourselves how far the style of 'The Epistle' and its fellows resembles that of Williams' acknowledged writings.

It is obvious that we are here dealing with a problem of no ordinary difficulty. 'Martin,' whoever he was, deliberately affected an antic disposition: 'Perceiving the humours of men in these times to be given to mirth, I took that course.' He strews his tracts, as we have seen, with dialect forms; he invents or adopts a comic vocabulary of his own—e.g., besire (desire), bethout (without), beceitful (deceitful), besoop, bumfeg, dunstical, etc.; he constantly breaks out into whoops and wild ejaculations, such as—py hy hy! tse, tse, tse! wo wo! and so on; he indulges in puns, swaggering parentheses, asides to the reader, and imaginary altercations with an objector or with the bishops themselves. In short, he has taken a leaf out of Tarleton's book, and formed his style on the model of a stage-clown's conversational patter. It would be idle to look for anything like this in serious treatises upon military affairs, such as Sir Roger Williams' 'Briefe Discourse of Warre' and 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries.' In the one case the writer wears cap and bells, in the other morion and buff jerkin; the themes are totally different, the public addressed is different. So far asunder, indeed, are the spheres of the comic theologian and the businesslike military historian that we might, without detriment to our

theory, give up the pursuit of clues in this direction as hopeless. Yet a little perseverance will not be thrown away if we fix our attention upon Martin's less obvious—because more ordinary—qualities of style and vocabulary. No one can read 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries' without being struck with the constant recurrence of phrases in which the word 'sort' appears; 'in such sort,' 'in this sort,' 'in like sort,' etc., occur on the average twice in every page. Martin frequently uses the same expression, though not so persistently. Another trick of Williams' is to begin a sentence with the words, 'True it is,' 'To say troth,' or the like. Martin is equally fond of the form, 'I tell thee true,' which is the same phrase put in the more personal way to suit his conversational style. Still more striking is the constant appeal of Williams and Martin to the reader, or the world in general, to decide upon a moot point, an appeal commencing in such phrases as 'judge you,' 'the world may judge,' etc. Both writers, too, show a partiality for the same words. 'Procure' in the sense of 'persuade' naturally strikes the modern reader's eye at once; 'choler,' 'peevish,' 'mar,' and 'belike' are other instances; and it should be observed that the writer of the tracts and the writer of 'A Briefe Discourse of Warre' often use a singular verb with a plural subject, as a Welshman naturally would.<sup>1</sup>

It is of more importance to our argument to

<sup>1</sup> 'The Actions' contain very few instances of this, no doubt because the treatise was revised by its seventeenth century editor, as he himself informs us.



notice that the two styles agree in fundamentals as well as in mannerisms of word and expression; that is to say, the sentence-structure of Martin and Williams is identical. Take a passage when Martin is in his most serious vein, when he has put off the comic mask and reveals his own features: 'I am not disposed to jest in this serious matter. I am called Martin Marprelate. There be many that greatly dislike my doings. I may have my wants I know. For I am a man. But my course I know to be ordinary and lawful. I saw the cause of Christ's government and of the Bishops' antichristian dealing to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read anything written in the defence of the one and against the other.'<sup>1</sup> And so he goes on, firing off his short sharp sentences like pistol shots, with very few conjunctions and no subordinate clauses. Now take a passage from 'The Action of the Lowe Countries': 'Divers had leave to dismount themselves who accompanied Julian at the point. The count re-entrenched himself overthwart the breach with a half moon. Himself and some two hundred horsemen stood at the mouth of the great lane towards the breach. The rest of his horsemen were in three troops making patrols (rounds we call it) from place to place round about the town. As one troop came unto him he sent another out. Monsieur de la Noue stood with the armed men in the midst of the half moon. Monsieur de Poyet stood on the one quarter of the moon, with half the shoot. Monsieur de Roueres on the other

<sup>1</sup> Pierce. 'Tracts,' p. 238.

with the rest. At every corner of the moon they placed divers pieces of ordnance, laden with nails, small bullets, and stones, which flanked the mouth of the breach. Julian's captains would not give place one to another more than the colonels, but by lot.'<sup>1</sup> This is no picked passage; it is thoroughly representative of Williams' 'blunt manly style,' as Sir Walter Scott aptly describes it,<sup>2</sup> a style which is unusual in the sixteenth century, when writers delighted in long, involved and loosely constructed sentences. Had Williams' military treatises shown marked differences from the more serious portions of Martin's tracts, our theory would doubtless be open to grave objection. As it is, we are content to 'let the indifferent reader judge' in the light of the foregoing extracts, so different in theme, so similar in form, whether there is anything inherently improbable in supposing that the author of 'The Actions of the Lowe Countries' was also the author of the first three Marprelate tracts.

We have next to consider the style of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior.' It is clear, as we should have expected, that neither is by the same hand which penned 'The Epistle,' 'The Epitome,' and 'Hay any worke.' With the significant exception of 'Vather,' already referred to, they contain no dialect forms; they have a comic vocabulary of their own, such as nuncka, neame, flim-flam, dilling, etc., which is quite distinct from Martin's; their sentence-structure is different; the word 'procure' is used in its ordinary sense; and

<sup>1</sup> Somers. Tracts I., 349.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330.

though Martin Senior opens his tract with an ejaculation and is not above making a bad pun or two, neither he nor his 'younger brother' shows any resemblance to his 'father' in the other characteristics noticed above. Furthermore, it is equally clear that Martin Senior is, as he professes to be, a different writer from Martin Junior. The latter's tract is mostly taken up with Martin Marprelate's theses, but 'Martin Junior's Epilogue' is sufficiently long to give the reader a fair taste of the writer's style. There is, of course, some affectation of sprightliness at the outset to suit the occasion; but Martin Junior soon launches out into a serious denunciation of the bishops; and no one, I am convinced, who has read much of Penry's acknowledged work can escape the strong suspicion that this denunciation is from his pen. Expressions of which Penry is particularly fond, such as 'plant,' 'questionless,' 'stand to,' 'deal with,' and 'maintain,' are all used by Martin Junior, the last mentioned being especially frequent. Penry's style again is biblical and rhetorical; he piles substantive upon substantive, adjective upon adjective, clause upon clause, question upon question. Martin Junior does the same. Finally, in the case of each writer, the sentences tend to be long and complex, and there is a constant employment of parentheses within brackets. Taken in conjunction with the external evidence which we shall produce later, the testimony of these stylistic similarities becomes unimpeachable.

The style of Martin Senior creates an even stronger suspicion in favour of Job Throckmorton.

No one could suppose for one moment that Penry was responsible for this tract. The author of 'The Aequity,' 'The Exhortation,' 'Th' Appellation,' and other pamphlets pleading for the cause of religion in Wales, was an intensely serious young man, fervent, passionate, and at times bitter, but one who would move awkwardly in motley, as Martin Junior obviously does. The author of 'Martin Senior,' on the other hand, is a born comedian. Yet his humour is of a different order from that of Martin Marprelate. The latter is boisterous and vociferous; he belabours the bishops with a crabtree cudgel, he writes at the top of his voice, as it were. Martin Senior's method is the knowing wink, the sly dig in the ribs, the quiet chuckle. He is Martin Marprelate's zany, but he altogether excels his master in comic imagination, and his tract is undoubtedly the wittiest of the series. He possesses a dramatic power which his 'Vather' lacks. He can call up comic pictures of his opponents; indeed, he never seems to think of a bishop or dean without imagining him in some absurd posture or other. Moreover, he brings his lay figures upon the stage and makes them talk. The tract plunges at once into a mock 'oration of John Canterbury to the pursuivants,' and concludes with a second by 'that Beelzebub of London.' All this is what we should expect of Job Throckmorton. The only book signed by his name which we possess is the 'Defence of Job Throckmorton,' 1594, written in reply to Matthew Sutcliffe, who had accused him of being responsible for all the Marprelate tracts. But 'M. Some laid

open in his coulers,' one of the three tracts printed by Waldegrave at Rochelle in the summer of 1589, though anonymous, is undoubtedly by Throckmorton also. In the crushing rejoinder to the above-mentioned 'Defence,' Sutcliffe writes: 'the book called "Some in his coulers" was likewise made by J. Throckmorton. That is proved first by the deposition of Waldegrave that upon oath testified so much, and at Rochelle, where he printed it, spake it openly.'<sup>1</sup> We know of no occasion when Waldegrave was examined after the summer of 1589, unless Sutcliffe be referring to an interview between the printer and Bowes, the English ambassador, which took place at Edinburgh in 1590,<sup>2</sup> but there is no reason to believe that he would deliberately lie on a matter so susceptible of proof. Besides, his statement is supported by the evidence of style; and, though there is not space here to go into this question so minutely as I could wish, it is so important, especially in connection with the problem of 'The Protestation,' that a brief discussion of it is imperative.

One or two sentences from Throckmorton's 'Defence' should give the reader an idea of his style:—Sutcliffe 'very kindly, I thank him, sets his brand upon me in the margin in this manner: "A sanctified Puritan."' 'I am not able to discern why it (i.e. an expression of Sutcliffe's) should come in rustling here unless it be only for the bare noise and sound of it.' Sutcliffe's controversial

<sup>1</sup> Arber. 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Scottish State Papers. Eliz., vol. lxx., No. 64. Record Office.

methods with puritans are 'to throw out the gauntlet and chartel of defiance with one hand and to shake the halter and show the hatchet with the other; or rather, in plain terms, to do what in him lieth to cut in sunder the windpipe first and then to ask them why they whoop not afterwards.' 'Sutcliffe's opprobrious speeches . . . were . . . but plain scab and scurvy Jack. In which vein of kitchen rhetoric, if they would give me leave also to follow the sway of the flesh and blood, methinks I could easily without any great sweat or pains (if there were no bounds of modesty to restrain me) learn to confute the honestest man and the greatest clerk in Christendom.' The reason why Throckmorton cannot follow 'the sway of flesh and blood' in his 'Defence' is that the book was addressed to an 'honourable lady,' and therefore he is enforced to keep his exuberant wit within 'the bounds of modesty.' But despite this, his 'kitchen rhetoric' will out, and the tract contains enough of it to prove the writer's extraordinary command of comic metaphor; a topic or person has but to cross his mind, and it is at once transformed into some concrete humorous image. Now 'M. Some in his coulers,' the author of which is under no sort of restraint, is a riot of comic metaphor and humorous vision. Take a handful of phrases and sentences from it, chosen at haphazard:—'To glut down a pretty prebend or two, to help their digestion'; 'I pray you what call you him that giveth in his coat "An ass with a tippet about his neck," and writes underneath "Come and see"?'; 'to choke him straight with a pill out of his own confectionery'; 'but first you



must give him leave to warm himself a little at the magistrate's fire, for it may be his hands are cold. And then (when he hath stirred the coals awhile for the better conjuring of his adversaries) you shall see him prove his antecedent.' He pictures 'some reverend bishop or other on his knees before her Majesty as one loth to speak, good man, but only that the heinousness of the case doth thereunto force him, as it were, against his will; and therefore he begins, I warrant you, with a sigh or two fetched from the very depth of his bowels, in this sort: "O, madame, you may see what your puritans are come to. . . ." Then there is Dr. Some too busy place-hunting to listen to argument: "Tush he is among the organs at Pauls or else looking out of his window towards Lambeth, what should he meddle with the thing in question?"' Lastly, we may give a selection from the expressions this astonishing writer uses as attributes to the single word 'argument':— 'sound and musket-proof,' 'wind-shaken,' 'paper-shot,' 'having a lame leg,' 'such as, if you look not to it, will go near to clatter the glass window in pieces,' 'a lame jade,' 'curtains and hackneys of Sarum,' 'a gilded coat armour.' I know no other piece of Elizabethan prose, not even in the works of Nashe, in which the comic imagination is more fertile in play, more varied in resource, than 'M. Some laid open.' Martin Marprelate's 'sport among the catercaps' is of a rougher, more hustling, cruder nature. But Throckmorton's 'Defence' and 'Martin Senior' are written in precisely the same vein as 'M. Some.' There are, moreover,



certain peculiar words and mannerisms which link these three pamphlets together. The chief of these is the frequent use of the verb 'muse' in the sense of 'marvel,' while two other unusual forms, 'appeach' (impeach) and 'putcase' (suppose), may be noticed in passing, though they do not, like 'muse,' appear in 'Martin Senior.' Then again one of Throckmorton's characteristic parentheses is the chuckling 'I thank you,' addressed to an adversary who has made an absurd statement or an ill-advised attack. This is found in 'A Defence' and 'Martin Senior,' while the word 'brand,' (e.g., 'set a brand upon,' 'unbranded,' etc.), which is a very favourite one of Throckmorton's, occurs in all three tracts.

Here for the present we must leave the argument from style. The significance of many of the foregoing points will be clearer as we proceed, but we now have sufficient clues in our hands to attempt with confidence a reconstruction of the story of the Marprelate tracts. We know, almost for certain, who Martin Marprelate himself was, and we have very strong suspicions as to the identity of Martin Senior and Martin Junior. Let us see how our theories and suspicions fit into the framework of established fact.

## VI

Sir Roger Williams had every opportunity of learning the plans and hopes of the Puritan party before he left the Netherlands at the fall of Sluys in 1587. Both Leicester and Essex, as we saw,

must have been aware of what was going on. Middleburgh, too, the head-quarters of the English army, was at this time swarming with extremists from home; it possessed two English churches, one founded by Cartwright and the other by Robert Browne; and its only printer, Richard Schilders, who during Leicester's governor-generalship styled himself 'printer to his Excellencie,' was a man who had lived many years in London, and was now busy smuggling into London the tracts of the anti-episcopalians.<sup>1</sup> An acquaintance between Williams and Schilders, extremely probable in any case, would help to explain the part played by the Dutchman in connection with certain tracts on the fringe of the Marprelate controversy,<sup>2</sup> and also the curious reference to him by name in 'The Epitome.'<sup>3</sup> And when the Welsh knight arrived in England at the beginning of July, 1587, he would find a Puritan conspiracy in full preparation. John Field and others were collecting notes about the scandalous or seeming-scandalous lives of the bishops; John Penry, a young compatriot of his own, just hot from Cambridge, was ready to bombard parliament and the privy council with pamphlets exposing the shameful spiritual neglect of his native country, Wales. 'There is a certain waste of people,' writes Nashe in one of his graver moments, 'for whom there is no use but war: and these men must have some employment still to cut them off. *Nam si foras hostem non habent,*

<sup>1</sup> Trans. Bib. Soc., xi., pp. 65-89 'Richard Schilders and the English Puritans.'

<sup>2</sup> Pierce. Tracts, p. 119.

*domi invenient.* If they have no service abroad, they will make mutinies at home.'<sup>1</sup> Williams was exactly this type of person. Since 1572 he had been engaged in almost constant warfare in the Low Countries; Spain was now threatening England herself, and he had come home to take part in the defence; but this defence meant two years of comparative inactivity, and inactivity had become an impossibility for him. 'Ready with sword or pen, foremost in every mad adventure or every forlorn hope,' as Motley describes him, he would be the first man, unemployed as he was, to throw himself vigorously into the Puritan schemes. Towards the end of 1587, Penry tells us in his 'Exhortation,' a book 'pleading the cause of Sion,' was printed in South Wales,<sup>2</sup> in the production of which Williams may possibly have had a hand. We have no evidence, however, that 'Martin' began to think of contributing with his pen before 1588. Field died in February, and copies of his notes came into the possession of both Martin and Penry, who, as it seems independently of each other, began to work them up into pamphlet form. Certainly the third part of 'The Exhortation,' which was printed a little after 6th May, and contains matter almost identical with some of that employed in 'The Epistle' and 'The Epitome,' was mysteriously suppressed by its author; and the only explanation which suggests itself is that Penry had in the meantime seen part of the manuscripts of

<sup>1</sup> 'Pierce Penillesse.' McKerrow's Nashe I., 211.

<sup>2</sup> 'THE LIBRARY.' New Series. X., 234.

the first two Marprelate tracts, or at least had heard that 'Martin' was using Field's notes.

But if 'The Epistle' and 'The Epitome' were in preparation as early as May, why were they not published till the autumn of 1588? One answer is that Williams was busy with other matters. The Armada began to sail up the Channel, and he had to be in constant attendance upon Leicester, though his absences without leave look as though he found time to go on with his Marprelate work. In any case Waldegrave, we are told, had had 'The Epistle' 'a good while to print' before he took it in hand; and we must suppose that the delay was partly caused by the necessity of procuring a larger press and new type from abroad. Williams was well off, and had, no doubt, lordly ideas as to the appearance of his 'metropolitcal writings.' All things considered, therefore, it was natural that the printer should be settled at East Molesey about Michaelmas with a new press and a fine selection of black letter founts; for by that time Philip's ships had gone to their destruction, Williams himself was free, and the sea between England and Middleburgh had for many weeks been open again, if it was from Middleburgh, as I suspect, that Waldegrave procured his type and press.<sup>1</sup> 'The Epistle' was published just after Williams went to the Netherlands with Norris,

<sup>1</sup> The proof that Waldegrave secured a new press in the late summer of 1588 cannot be gone into fully in this place. It rests chiefly on the fact that all the tracts printed by Waldegrave in 1588 before September are in half sheets, and all those (8vo or 4to) printed between September and March in the next year are in whole sheets.

so that probably he was able to see an advanced copy before starting. On 10th November he is once more back in England, in time to write the brief preparatory epistle to 'The Epitome,' which appeared some three weeks later from Fawsley. 'Martin' wrote nothing in December, 1588, as far as we know, unless some of his 'unperfite' tracts, his Latin treatises, or his verses against Dr. Prime, of which Martin Junior and Senior speak, were written at this time. The point is worth noting, because it is possible that Williams was with Norris in the Netherlands again in December. The following January, however, preparations for the expedition to Portugal had begun, and the presence of both Norris and Williams was required in England. At the same time Cooper's 'Admonition' gave 'Martin' new material to work upon, and instead of attending to his military duties down in Plymouth, Williams remained in London writing, we must suppose, 'Hay any worke for Cooper,' and its sequel 'More Worke for the Cooper.' That the latter tract was, at least in part, written in the spring of 1589, there can be no reasonable doubt. 'Hay any worke' is full of references to it as immediately forthcoming, and from Penry's words to Sharpe at the beginning of May, it is evident that the Martinists supposed Waldegrave to be printing it 'in some corner in Devonshire.'<sup>1</sup> 'Hay any worke' was finished by Waldegrave on 23rd March, but previously there had appeared the broadside known as 'The Minerals.' This has hitherto been classed as one

<sup>1</sup> Arber, 'Introductory Sketch,' p. 100.

of the Marprelate series; yet the name or title of Martin Marprelate is nowhere mentioned in it. The references to Bishop Cooper as 'profane T. C.' and the 'tub-trimmer,' prove that Martin himself, or someone who had seen the manuscript of 'Hay any worke,' had a hand in it; but there is no reason for supposing that the tract was more than a compilation, while the occurrence of 'appeaching,' and the characteristic 'I thank him,' in 'school-points' 9 and 15, make it more than likely that Job Throckmorton was in part responsible for it.

Soon after the appearance of 'Hay any worke,' as I am persuaded, the authorities made some discovery which either fixed the authorship upon Williams or laid him under very grave suspicion. No other theory, as we saw, will adequately explain the headlong flight from London on 3rd April and Elizabeth's subsequent displeasure with the Welshman. Why, too, should Waldegrave suddenly leave England at this juncture? In accordance with the policy of perambulation pursued by the Martinist publishing house, he had moved from Coventry to Devonshire at the end of March, taking with him the manuscript of Penry's 'Appellation,' the Marprelate black letter, and probably the larger of the two presses. As late as 1st May Penry apparently supposed that he was at work in 'some corner' of Devonshire, and it was not until about 18th May that he learnt that Waldegrave had given them all the slip. Evidently

<sup>1</sup> In the first three Marprelate quartos 'impeaching' occurs more than once, but never 'appeaching.'



the flight to Rochelle was entirely unpremeditated, and we are not surprised to learn that Hodgkins later speaks bitterly of his predecessor's desertion of the cause. Devonshire had in the first place, I conjecture, been selected as Waldegrave's destination because Williams was expected in that part of the world, and would wish before sailing to give the printer his final instructions, together perhaps with the manuscript of 'More Worke.' But consider the position of affairs if Williams believed the whole plot to be discovered. He and Essex fling themselves upon the 'Swiftsure' and secretly put in at Falmouth. Here takes place an interview with Waldegrave, a constitutionally timid man, and already weary of the Marprelate business. He learns of the discovery and the consequent danger to himself, and the upshot is that the 'Swiftsure' conveys him to Rochelle, the Protestant city of refuge.

Contrary winds kept Williams for some ten days in Falmouth harbour, and it is possible that the same cause detained him for a week or so at Rochelle, since, it will be remembered, a month elapsed between the sailing of the main fleet and his coming up with it. During these idle weeks I believe he continued his Marprelate writings. Possibly he now put the finishing touches to 'More Worke'; almost certainly he began to draw up the 'theses' which afterwards appeared in 'Martin Junior.' The reader who turns from 'Hay any worke' to these theses will find a striking change of attitude in the author. In the former, Martin is as confident and boisterous as ever; in



the latter, as Martin Junior notes with sorrow, 'the old man is something discouraged in his courses.'<sup>1</sup> The preface, or 'speech,' which precedes the theses, without doubt displays considerable despondency of tone. 'The bishops I fear,' writes Martin, 'are past my cure, and it may be I was unwise in taking that charge upon me. The best is, I know how to mend myself. For good leave have I to give over my desperate cure: and with this farewell unto them, I wish them a better surgeon.'<sup>2</sup> Such is the mood of Martin Marprelate when he pens this tract. The note he strikes is one of compromise, of despair, of 'farewell to book making,' almost of penitence. Moreover, he never finished the tract; for the 'loss of his papers' will not account for the broken sentences in the body of the text, though it might explain the abrupt conclusion. What is the reason of all this? Again our theory steps in as the only one which fits the facts. Williams was cast down at his discovery. He had begun to realise that bishop-baiting was a more hazardous game than he had supposed. He sets to work in a chastened spirit to write a tract 'without inveighing against either person or cause.' And then the wind changes, and he has to throw the thing aside; or, finding the old habit of thwacking 'corner-caps' getting the better of him as he proceeds, he gives up the task in disgust. In any case, I am convinced it was his last contribution to the Marprelate controversy.

<sup>1</sup> 'Tracts,' p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

Waldegrave began to print soon after he reached Rochelle. It is a little surprising to find that he did not take in hand 'More Worke.' The explanation probably is that 'Martin' himself had not yet completed this tract, that in fact 'More Worke' was 'unperfite' like the rest of his papers which reached England in July. As, however, the pamphlet was captured with the printers, we have no means of arriving at any certainty on this point. The three tracts which Waldegrave did print at Rochelle were Penry's 'Appellation,' Throckmorton's 'M. Some laid open in his coulers,' and a booke called 'A Dialogue wherein is laid open the tyranicall dealing of L.Bishopps.' Of the last I wish to say nothing here, as I have had no recent opportunity of reading it. More than common interest, however, is attached to the publication of 'M. Some'; for it was issued without Throckmorton's knowledge and under the editorship of another person. The title-page bears the inscription 'Done by an Oxford man to his friend in Cambridge,' and the preface 'to the reader' begins as follows:—'Having this lying by me, without any purpose to publish it as yet, I was advertized of the taking away of M. Penry's book by the pursuivant. Whereupon I resolved (though it should be some offence to my friend) not to closet it up any longer lest the adversary should too much triumph and insult. Even as it came into my hands, so have I given it his passport, without any addition or alteration of mine. Only the title, I confess, is mine own, the rest is my Oxford's friend's.' The editor is as good as his word, he

has neither added nor altered, but he has certainly subtracted. The tract commences in the most abrupt manner possible: 'Be it so, sithence you will needs have it so, provided that you be not overhasty to communicate it, for that may breed danger to me and no great good to yourself'; after which cryptic utterance the writer passes on to deal with M. Some, a theme which occupies him for some 125 closely-printed octavo pages. Throckmorton, 'the Oxford man,' has evidently written a long letter on the subject of M. Some's iniquities and stupidities to 'his friend in Cambridge,' prefaced by some remarks of a personal nature, which, to judge from the above quoted fragment, would no doubt have been very interesting not merely to us, but to the Elizabethan government. The letter was written between the 10th and the 29th of January, 1589, since it mentions Cooper's 'Admonition,' which appeared soon after the former date, and since it was on 29th January that the pursuivants raided Penry's house at Northampton and took away the manuscript of his book against M. Some, to which the editor refers in his preface. Who the Cambridge man may be it would be idle to conjecture. He is not Penry, because the whole tract is written about Penry, who is always spoken of in the third person. He cannot be 'Martin,' because Martin is referred to in the same fashion. Nor is he, I think, the editor himself, whose preface has a distant and speculative note which we should not expect from the friend to whom the letter was addressed. From the opening sentence of the

tract it seems that Throckmorton was reluctantly granting 'his friend' permission to 'communicate' the letter to some third person. This person, we cannot doubt, was the editor who wrote the preface, and who did his work so carelessly that, while no doubt cancelling the first page of the manuscript, he allowed the last sentence of Throckmorton's private warning to his friend to get into print. And this editor? Surely none other than Martin himself. The expression 'laid open in his coulers,' and the use of 'insult' for 'exult,' as Mr. Pierce has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> occur more than once in the first three tracts and the theses, while the word 'advertize' (inform) is a very favourite one with Sir Roger Williams. Throckmorton was able to swear that he 'knew not Martin,' but the two men certainly knew *of* each other, and had probably some indirect correspondence. Martin Marprelate speaks in 'The Epitome' of 'my son Martin Senior that worthy wight,'<sup>2</sup> and Martin Senior himself, while professing that his father's 'eldest child never knew him,' plumes himself on the honourable mention 'that my father made of me in his writings.'<sup>3</sup> It is probable that one of their channels of communication was the unknown Cambridge man.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile the sudden departure of Williams

<sup>1</sup> 'Historical Introduction,' pp. 294, 295.

<sup>2</sup> 'Tracts,' p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tracts,' pp. 361, 362.

<sup>4</sup> It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this unknown person was the young Earl of Essex, who was educated at Cambridge.

and Waldegrave had left Penry and, we must now add, Throckmorton in a quandary. It was not until the middle of May that they learnt the true condition of affairs. Hodgkins was immediately secured to take Waldegrave's place,<sup>1</sup> but there was nothing for him to do, because all the available manuscripts had disappeared with Martin and the printer. Whether Waldegrave took one of the Marprelate presses with him to Rochelle we cannot tell. At any rate by midsummer Hodgkins had two presses at his disposal,<sup>1</sup> and yet nothing was taken in hand. For four months the Marprelate publishing house produced not a single sheet. But on 1st July the fleet arrived in England, and on board, we believe, came Williams' negligent servant with a bundle of his master's papers, some of which had been lost, and all of which were sodden with sea-water. Perhaps he had commands to take those dealing with the 'Actions of the lowe countries' to Williams' house at St. Paul's Wharf, and to convey those concerned with the bishops and Dr. Prime into Penry's hands. In any case, 'More Worke for the Cooper,' the 'Theses' and other manuscripts, reached Penry soon after the beginning of the month; and the Marprelate press could once more be set going.

Yet the manuscripts could not be put at once into the printer's hands, for several reasons. In the first place, they were so 'scrabbled and weather beaten' that 'they could scant be read to be printed,' and Martin Junior confesses that he found parts of

<sup>1</sup> Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

the theses quite illegible.<sup>1</sup> It was therefore necessary that some person or persons familiar with Martin's handwriting should make a fair copy for the benefit of the compositors. That this was done, and done by Penry and Throckmorton, we have ample proof. Hodgkins told Symmes after the capture of the press that there were two copies of 'More Worke,' one of which had been seized by the authorities, and a second 'which would serve them at another time.'<sup>2</sup> The former, no doubt, was the fair copy in the hands of Penry or Throckmorton, the latter Martin's original manuscript, which lay safe in Throckmorton's study at Hasely. The captured printers were very closely examined concerning the handwriting of the tracts that passed through their hands. Their evidence proves fairly conclusively that all the manuscripts they saw were in the hand of either Penry or Throckmorton, though it is somewhat confusing as to the relative portions written by the two men.<sup>3</sup> 'More Worke for the Cooper' was evidently a long tract, and it would therefore take some time to copy out. Moreover—and here we come upon a second reason for delay—since the composition of 'More Worke' in February and March the anti-Martinist campaign had

<sup>1</sup> Tracts, pp. 324-5. The editor of Williams' imperfect 'Actions of the lowe Countries,' the manuscript of which presumably suffered in company with 'More Worke' and the 'Theses,' writes that it came to him 'in a ragged hand much maimed, both in sense and phrase' (Somers, 'Tracts,' I., p. 332), which is yet another point in favour of our theory.

<sup>2</sup> Pierce, 'Historical Introduction,' p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 336-339. Cp. also Sutcliffe's evidence (Arber, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 178).



been in full swing. Poems and tracts had been issued on behalf of the bishops, and Martin himself had figured in several plays on the public stage. The sequel to 'Hay any Worke' could not properly be allowed to appear without some reference to these events, and the obvious way of meeting the difficulty was to pen a prefatory epistle such as that which had been added to the 'Epitome.' Martin's sons could not hear of their father; they were not certain if he were alive or dead. The duty of writing such an epistle, therefore, devolved upon them, and it was undertaken, as we shall presently see, by Throckmorton.

But the transcription of 'More Worke' and the composition of its prefatory epistle meant delay, and Martin's sons were in feverish haste to produce something at once. They had been waiting in vain for four intolerable months to hear from their 'Vather' 'by some Pistle, though it were but of twenty sheets of paper,' waiting also while 'the adversary did too much triumph and insult' in pamphlets and plays, to which no reply was forthcoming. The papers at last arrived, and while Throckmorton was busily engaged upon 'More Worke,' Penry took in hand the 'Theses,' penning an 'epilogue' intended to give puritans some explanation of Martin's long silence, and to encourage his father to play the man once again, if he had escaped out of the danger of gunshot. This appeared on 22nd July, before which, we must suppose, Throckmorton, having finished his epistle to 'More Worke,' had also written 'Martin Senior,' the lively and amusing 'reproofe' of the



pretty stripling his brother for daring to publish his father's 'Theses.' We have already seen strong reasons for thinking that Throckmorton was Martin Senior and Penry Martin Junior. But quite apart from the style of the tracts there can be no reasonable doubt about the matter. Martin Marprelate himself being out of the way, Penry and Throckmorton are the only men in the least likely to have continued his dangerous work; and we know from the testimony of the printers that both supervised the production of the tracts, altered the sentences under the compositors' eyes, and corrected the orthography.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, since Penry was considerably younger than Throckmorton, it was natural that he should assume the title of Martin Junior. His Christian name too was John, which accounts for Martin Senior addressing him as 'Jacke.' Lastly, while, as we have seen, Throckmorton disclaimed any personal acquaintance with Martin Marprelate, Martin Senior concludes his tract with this advice to his 'younger brother':—'Be silent and close: hear many, confer with few. And in this point do as I do; know not thy father, though thou mayest.'<sup>2</sup> Now the one man in all the Martinist circle who is likely to have been in touch with Martin Marprelate, was John Penry. His nationality, the withdrawal of the third part of 'The Exhortation,' and his control of the Marprelate press, all go to prove it. When Martin Senior, therefore, states

<sup>1</sup> Pierce, 'Historical Introduction,' p. 336. 'Arber,' *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Tracts, p. 380.

that he has no knowledge of Martin Marprelate, and admits that Martin Junior may have, we have yet another indication that these two tracts were the work of Penry and Throckmorton.

## VII.

The crux of the whole Marprelate problem is the authorship of 'The Protestation,' the last and, on account of the numerous and baffling clues it contains, the most fascinating of the series. After the publication of 'Martin Junior' and 'Martin Senior' at the end of July, Hodgkins moved to the neighbourhood of Manchester, where he was captured with his compositors on 14th August while in the act of printing 'More worke for the Cooper.' 'The Protestation' was written after this untoward event, and appeared some time before the middle of October. We saw that in September Henry of Navarre and Sir Roger Williams were at Dieppe. It was, therefore, possible for the Welsh knight to communicate, had he wished, with his friends in England, and to send them the manuscript of 'The Protestation.' Yet, in spite of the fact that the tract is called 'The Protestation of Martin the Great,' and is 'published by the worthie gentleman D Martin Marprelat D. in all the faculties primat and metropolitan,' I am now convinced that the original Martin Marprelate, be he Williams or some other, had no part in its composition. In 'THE LIBRARY' of July, 1907, I showed that the signatures and type of the tract revealed the hand of two different

printers. Since then an even more interesting fact has forced itself upon my attention—namely, that the tract is also the work of two different writers. Read it down to the foot of p. 14, and you will not find a single indication of Martinism in it. The tone is lofty and intensely serious; the style is biblical and rhetorical; the sentences are long and, though admirably constructed, are complex, full of conjunctions, subordinate clauses and adverbial phrases. On p. 10 commences the celebrated ‘Protestation’ itself, printed for the sake of emphasis in larger type than the rest. The man who wrote this meant what he said and picked his words carefully. It is noticeable, therefore, that he avoids using the obvious expression, ‘I, Martin Marprelate,’ and prefers to say instead, ‘I who do now go under the name of Martin Marprelate.’ What does it all mean? It means that Penry is writing. The style is his, the passion behind it is his and his alone, the sentence structure is that found in his acknowledged writings. Mr. Pierce, while insisting that ‘the writer of the “The Protestation” is the same who wrote “The Epistle,”’ admits that ‘there are sections in the earlier part of the tract which conceivably could have been written by Penry.’ The admission is a valuable one, for without the right clue in his hands, Mr. Pierce naturally finds it difficult to get over the evidence of the title-page. A careful analysis of Penry’s style has completely convinced me that the whole of the first part (*i.e.*, the first fourteen pages) is by the young Welsh reformer.

‘Historical Introduction,’ p. 306.

Despairing of learning anything more of the real Martin, and believing no doubt that he had died in the suburbs of Lisbon, Penry has taken the cause on his own shoulders, has adopted the name of Martin Marprelate—for it is only a name—and has issued his courageous protestation to the bishops as the firstfruit of his new calling.<sup>1</sup>

Now turn to p. 15, and you will find yourself in an entirely different atmosphere. The preacher has left the pulpit and a jester has taken his place. The sentences are shorter, simpler, crisper; the tone is light and bantering; and towards the end of the tract the style has become as rollicking as Martin at his best. Is it then Martin himself? By no means. Martin, we discovered, has his zany, a zany wittier, slyer and more subtly comic than his master. It is 'M. Some laid open in his coulers' that the latter half of 'The Protestation' reminds us of. But we have more definite ground to go upon than mere resemblance of style. There is not the slightest doubt that the two pieces of writing are by the same author, because they contain the same material, the same jests, almost the same sentences. Take for example the following passages, both of which refer to the unfortunate Dr. Some. The writer of 'The Protestation' says:—'The man, in all likelihood, never goeth without a little saunce bell in his pocket and that doth nothing else but *Ting, Ting, Ting!* And

<sup>1</sup> It should be noticed that this is by no means Penry's first 'protestation' or challenge. Scarcely one of his tracts is without an appeal for an open disputation, and 'Martin Junior' is no exception to the rule (see 'Tracts,' p. 330).

what doth it *Ting*? If you give good ear, nothing else, I warrant you, but "my sermons," "my writings," "my reasons," "my arguments"; and all is "my, my, my," as if the depth of all learning were included in the channel of his brain.<sup>1</sup> Now for 'M. Some laid open,' where we find this passage:—"If a man mark it, there is much ado throughout his whole book with *his writings, his words, his reasons, his answers, his sermons* etc, which it seemeth he would fain fasten upon posterity for laws and statutes as if the ground of all good knowledge were graven in the very wrinkles of his forehead."<sup>2</sup> Exactly the same point is made against Dr. Some in both cases. More than that, the idea has matured in the mind of the author since he wrote 'M. Some laid open,' collected different images around it, and become increasingly steeped in comic imagination. This is the most glaring parallel between the two tracts, but many others might be quoted if space permitted.

It will now be clear that the second writer of 'The Protestation' was Job Throckmorton. It is true that the West English dialect form 'chauve' is used on one occasion,<sup>3</sup> but this simply shows that Throckmorton was attempting to live up to the name of Martin Marprelate, and borrowed the word from his 'father.' The rest of the vocabulary is essentially his own, and the peculiar forms 'muse,' 'putcase,' and 'appeach,' which we have shown to be favourites with him, all make their

<sup>1</sup> 'Tracts,' p. 415; 'Protestation,' p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> 'M. Some laid open,' p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Tracts, p. 413.

appearance.' And if, as is indisputable, Throckmorton wrote the second part of 'The Protestation,' he must also have written the epistle to 'More Worke for the Cooper,' since the author of the second part gives a detailed and loving account of the said epistle, which he claims as his own, and which had, of course, been seized by the authorities while on the press. 'I sigh,' he remarks, 'to remember the loss of it, it was so pretty and witty,' a regret we must share with him, for if the feast itself corresponded in any measure with the menu of it given in 'The Protestation,' it must have been the most spicy and toothsome of all the Marprelate tracts. Probably it was based to some extent upon what Throckmorton could remember of his 'M. Some laid open,' for it is in the passages where he refers to it that we find the striking parallels to the Rochelle tract. When writing the epistle to 'More Worke,' Throckmorton, no doubt, never expected to see his 'M. Some laid open' again. He must have known that it had reached Martin's hands; but if he looked for it among the papers which came with the fleet on 1st July he looked in vain, because, of course, Waldegrave had secured it and was then printing it. But when Penry and Throckmorton were in the middle of 'The Protestation,' Waldegrave arrived at Hasely with the printed copies of 'Th' Appellation' and 'M. Some.' He found his former patrons in great difficulties, trying to master the mysteries of a printer's forme. They had managed to set up, after a fashion, and strike off the half-sheets of

<sup>1</sup> Tracts, pp. 407, 409, 410.



signature A, and possibly they had begun to puzzle out the composition of the second half sheet. Here, however, the practised craftsman came to the help of the amateurs, and no doubt printed off the rest while they composed under his direction.<sup>1</sup> When these facts are remembered it will be understood how it was that the pen changed hands exactly at the foot of the printed page. Penry and Throckmorton must have composed the formes as they wrote, if indeed they took the trouble to write at all!

Before we leave 'The Protestation,' one more word must be said about this change of authorship between pages 14 and 15. I know of nothing more laughable and amusing in the whole story of the Marprelate controversy, or more suggestive as to the kind of men we have to deal with in this business, than the point we are now about to bring forward. The sheet-anchor of all enquirers into the authorship of the tracts has hitherto been the statement made in 'The Protestation' that Martin, though a bachelor at the moment of writing, was intending to be married shortly. The statement in question commences on p. 14 and is concluded on p. 15. But it must be quoted in full if the joke is to be properly appreciated; and the turn of the page, at which point the pen passed from the hand of Penry to that of Throckmorton, may be indicated by an upright line.

'I am blamed of many in this mine attempt, not only for throwing myself into great danger; but

<sup>1</sup> For the arguments upon which these statements are based, see 'THE LIBRARY,' Series II., vol. viii., pp. 354-6.



also for the utter undoing of my wife and children. I do thank them with all my heart, for their care over those poor souls, and commend them for their secrecy and wisdom that, in knowing my wife and children, they have not, by showing their unmeasurable love towards them, discovered me. | You see what it is, when wise men have the handling of a matter. I perceive, if these men were not very provident and wary, that Martin could not be long unknown. For I tell you, if a man's wife and children be once known, it is not possible that he can be secret any long time. And yet, methinks, that all their wisdom, and all their care over my wife and children, when the matter is well weighed, is scant worth three straws. For what if Martin had neither wife nor child in all his life, are they not then something too much overweened in their own conceit, who give out that he hath both? Will you believe me then, if I tell you the truth? To put you therefore out of all doubt, I may safely protest unto you, with a good conscience, that howsoever the speech may seem strange unto many, yet the very truth is that hitherto I never had wife nor child in all my life. Not that I never mean to have any; for it may be, notwithstanding all the rage and barking of the Lambethetical whelps, I may be married, and that ere it be long.'<sup>1</sup>

This passage clinches the argument for a double authorship of 'The Protestation.' The first two sentences, which occur on p. 14, certainly imply that the writer is a married man. The 'many'

<sup>1</sup> 'Tracts,' pp. 405-6.

who blame him for his dangerous enterprise are his friends, no doubt, who are assisting to provide for his wife and children; for he thanks them with all his heart 'for their care of those poor souls.' He writes with unmistakably genuine feeling. His friends have shown 'unmeasurable love' towards his family, who are doubtless well known and watched by the pursuivants, eager to catch the writer. He commends his friends for their secrecy and wisdom; by their care of his poor wife and children they have evidently made it easy for him to separate himself from them and to keep out of danger. All this is exactly what Penry would say in September, 1589. He was in imminent peril, hunted from pillar to post, lurking in obscure taverns and secret holes and corners. Soon after 'The Protestation' appeared he was on his way to Scotland, apparently leaving his wife and child behind him in his father-in-law's house at Northampton.<sup>1</sup> But turn now to the sentences on p. 15. Quite apart from questions of style, it is impossible to suppose that the same man is writing. 'What if Martin had neither wife nor child in all his life?' Well might this 'speech seem strange unto many' after what had gone before. And then comes the definite statement—'I have never had wife nor child in all my life,' yet 'I may be married, and that ere it be long.' These words are as equally applicable to Throck-

<sup>1</sup> Penry married on 5th September, 1588. He had four children, only one of whom could have been born at the date of 'The Protestation,' see Pierce, 'Historical Introduction,' pp. 208, 209.

morton's case as those above had been to Penry's. At the time when 'The Protestation' was being written, Throckmorton was, in truth, unmarried; but before the end of the year he took to wife Dorothy Vernon, of Houndhill, Staffordshire.<sup>1</sup> It should be noticed that he makes two implications—first, that 'Martin' had never been married; and, second, that 'I,' that is Throckmorton, had never married, but intended to do so. To the end of the tract Throckmorton is careful not to speak of himself directly as Martin. Thus he kept strictly to the truth in everything; for 'Martin' to him was Sir Roger Williams, who died a bachelor.

This is the best joke and the cleverest piece of mystification that the Martinist circle ever perpetrated, and Throckmorton, to whose genius it was no doubt due, was justly proud of the achievement, as he shows us by again referring to his marriage in his quaint chuckling fashion at the end of the tract. But it is time to draw this lengthy enquiry to a close. Nothing more need be said here, except to gather up the threads of our tangled argument in a table which will show the reader at a glance to whom the various tracts are attributed.

'The Epistle'	. Sir Roger Williams
'The Epitome'	. Sir Roger Williams
'The Minerals'	{ Sir Roger Williams
	{ Job Throckmorton
	{ ? John Penry

<sup>1</sup> Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

- 'Hay any worke for  
   Cooper'? } Sir Roger Williams  
 'M. Some laid open } *Preface and title*, Sir Roger Williams  
   in his coulers' } *Body of tract*, Job Throckmorton  
 'Martin Junior' . } *Theses*, Sir Roger Williams  
                           } *Prologue and Epilogue*, John Penry  
 'Martin Senior' . Job Throckmorton  
 'Epistle to More }  
   worke' } Job Throckmorton  
 'More worke for the }  
   Cooper' } Sir Roger Williams  
 'The Protestation' . } *pp. 1-14*, John Penry  
                               } *pp. 15-32*, Job Throckmorton

JOHN DOVER WILSON.

## A VICAR'S LIBRARY.

**T**HE great increase in the value of early printed and illustrated books which has taken place in recent years, and the occasional reports in the newspapers of the sale of some rare volume, has led to much searching in out-of-the-way places for possible bibliographical treasures, with the result that it is much less common now than it was at one time to come across a library, containing books of value, the owner of which is unconscious of the worth of his possessions, and which are consequently allowed to remain in an entirely neglected condition. Such, however, is, or until quite recently was, the case with a small collection of books at Marlborough, known as 'The Vicar's Library,' and when, a short time ago, I found an opportunity of examining them, with the help of a catalogue prepared in 1903 by Canon Wordsworth, so thick was the dust covering the shelves, that I was obliged to borrow a hint from Dr. Johnson, and arm myself with a pair of hedger's gloves before venturing to remove any of the volumes for inspection.

The Library, which originally consisted of about 475 volumes, was left to the Mayor and Corporation of the town, for the use of the then Vicar and his successors for ever, by the Will of a certain

William White, at one time Rector of Pusey, in Berkshire, who died in the year 1678. Subsequent Vicars were required by the Donor to add 'One Good Book to the Study, that is not there already, to the end it may be a convenient Library for any Minister of whatever abilities and inclinations,' although, from the almost entire absence of works printed in the eighteenth century, it would appear that this condition was not always carried out.

The books were placed in a little wooden chamber in the Church, where they remained until its restoration, about the year 1843, when they were removed to the Vicarage and subsequently (possibly owing to the Donor's fondness for folio editions) to the Town Hall.

At the present time the books number exactly 606, and being lodged in a dingy attic at the top of the building, the rows of ragged brown calf volumes remind one of what must have been the appearance presented by the Libraries of the Antiquarian Parson in 'Bracebridge Hall' and other worthy collectors of bygone days.

Taken as a whole, the Library is of considerable interest. I shall not, however, attempt to analyse its contents, but only to mention some of the more important books (including those added since its original foundation), as, so far as I know, no reference has before been made to its existence in any public journal.

As might be expected from the fact that the Donor was a seventeenth century Parson, the books consist largely of classical and theological works, probably two-thirds coming under these heads.



Amongst the former are several editions of Homer (including Chapman's translation of the 'Iliad') and an Aldine edition (1546) of Cicero's 'Rhetorica.' In fact, nearly all the principal Greek and Latin authors are there in full force, mostly in editions printed on the Continent, including a few Elzevirs. There is nothing I think of special note about any of the theological works, which include most of the seventeenth century Divines; and as many of them are in cumbersome folio editions, they do not invite very close inspection. Among the minor theological writers, Thomas Pierce, at one time a pupil to White and afterwards Dean of Sarum, is represented by several volumes.

The bindings, as is usual with books of that date—the majority of them belong to the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries—contain many scraps of manuscripts and earlier printed books, used by the binders as padding; and some of these have been collected and placed in a scrap-book. The most important piece of manuscript consists of eighty-three lines of English verse (circa 1440), 'The Trees of Vice and Virtue,' taken from a copy of Textor's 'Observationes ad Ecclesiae Aedificationes,' dated 1598. There are, however, several others that might prove of interest to the expert.

Among the printed 'binders' waste' were two pages of the 'Cranmer' Bible; sixteen leaves of 'The overthrow of Stage Plaies,' 1629; and 'A New Prognostication' for the year 1570, by J. Securis, of Salisbury, a quaint little book that appeared annually from 1561 to 1580, copies of

which must be extremely rare. This has now been bound up with another black-letter 'Prognostication,' by one William Woodhouse, for the year 1638.

The earliest printed book is a work by the Abbot of a Cistercian monastery in Bohemia, entitled 'Dyalogus dictus Malogranatum,' folio, 1487, a good example of fifteenth century printing, attributed to the press of Ludwig von Renchen at Cologne. The most important book which the Library contains is no doubt a collection of seventeen grammatical tracts by Stanbridge and Whittington bound in one volume (contemporary binding), and printed by W. de Worde. They are all dated about the year 1520, and with the exception of, I think, two, are complete and in good condition.

There are several interesting Church Service Books, including a 'Manuale in usum Ecclesie Sarisburiensis,' 1500, printed for the famous Paris publisher, Antoine Vérard, its bold black and red type making it a striking volume. There is also a French 'Book of Hours' (1535), by F. Regnault, also of Paris, and though the date is too late for the best examples of 'Horae,' the woodcuts are very fair. In addition to these there is a 'Psalterium cum Hymnis,' 1551, printed by Jolande Bonhomme (widow of Thielman Kerver), and a 'Primer in English after Salysburie Use,' London: Assignes of J. Wayland, 1558. 16mo. This is apparently the book described in 'Lowndes' as 'Queen Mary's Prayer Book.' Lastly, there is a 'Missale' dated 1626, and printed at Antwerp.

Apart from fragments, there are only five editions of the Bible, including Fulkes' Rhemish Version; a Vulgate edition, Antwerp, 1635; and Walton's Polyglott in six volumes, this last bearing the autograph of Brian Duppa, at one time bishop of the diocese.

The Library contains a good many grammatical works and school books, among them being 'Certaine brief Rules for the eight partes of speche,' 1538; Lily's Latin Grammer, 1653; an Ipswich School Grammar, 1537; and a small Winchester School book, 'Rhetoricae Compendium in Usum Scholae Winton' 1660, which is probably rare, and should be of interest to Wykhamists.

There is one book with a chain attached—namely, the second volume of Comber's 'Companion to the Temple.'

The list of English 'classics' is small, though a first edition of Bacon's 'Advancement of Learning,' in very good condition, and a second edition of Sir Thomas Browne's 'Religio Medici,' must be mentioned. There is also one volume of Foxe's Book of the Martyrs' containing woodcuts. It is evidently an early edition, though unfortunately in poor condition, and without its titlepage.

The 'Poems and Works' of James I., Edinburgh and London, 1591-1599, are in the Library, as are also the 'Works' of Charles I., folio 1662. Among a few topographical books I noticed Camden's 'Britannia,' 1586; Stow's 'Survey of London,' 1598; and Edward Brown's 'Travels in Europe,' 1687. Curiously enough, none of the Donor's own books (he was the author, writing

under the name of 'Phalarius,' of one or two scholastic works) occur in the Library.

The following are a few books of interest not already mentioned. 'Aesopi Fabulae,' 12mo. London, circa 1525; Richard Mulcaster's 'Positions for Training children,' 1581; 'Flowers of Latin speaking out of Terence,' 1561, by Nicholas Udall, the author of 'Ralph Royster Doyster,' the first English comedy; Fitzherbert's 'Justice of the Peace,' R. Tottell, 1580; 'A brief Survey and Censure of Maister Coozen's Couzening Devotions,' by William Prynne; Brewer's Comedy, 'The Combat of Tongues and the Five Senses,' and Matthew Gwinne's 'Nero,' 1603.

None of the books have gilt tooled bindings, but there are several beautiful examples (chiefly French) of stamped leather. They are apparently all early sixteenth century work, some of the designs being similar to examples in the possession of the Victoria and Albert Museum. One of them, having a well-known device of acorns arranged alternately down the centre, is the work of John Noryn.

HUGH MACDONALD.

## MICHAEL WENSSLER AND HIS PRESS AT BASEL.

**T**HE following pages were at first intended to consist merely of a brief discussion of one or two typographical difficulties connected with the press of Wenssler at Basel, but on second thoughts it was decided to expand them into a continuous account of the whole of Wenssler's printing career. The reason for this change of scope was a more thorough appreciation of the value of Dr. Karl Stehlin's 'Regesten zur Geschichte des Buchdrucks bis zum Jahre 1500, aus den Büchern des Basler Gerichtsarchivs,'<sup>1</sup> together with the consciousness that this book, though often quoted, has never been made full use of. It was published as far back as 1888 and 1889, and consists of 1,632 excerpts dealing with early printers and printing from contemporary legal and other documents preserved at Basel, the importance of which to the student, not merely of Wenssler but of Basel incunabula in general, it is not easy to exaggerate. Thus, for instance, the list of Johann Amerbach's donations to the Basel

<sup>1</sup> Published in the 'Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels,' vols. xi. and xii. Except where otherwise stated, the details of the present essay are taken from Stehlin, exact references having been omitted as needless.

Charterhouse (No. 1623) is absolutely essential for correctly determining the output of this famous press. Again, Nos. 749 and 773, together with half a dozen other entries, provide conclusive evidence not only for the existence of a hitherto unrecognized printer, Adam von Speier, but also for the identification of his latest production, a Breviary for the Diocese of Chur, which has been described by Dr. Reichling without a suspicion of its true provenance, although the materials for correctly assigning it have been ready to hand for years.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the present essay appears to be the first systematic attempt to combine the information contained in the Regesten with that deducible from the typography of the books themselves. Moreover, until the contemporary records become more freely available it is clear that the study of German incunabula cannot be advanced very much further than at present, and it is greatly to be desired that someone should do for the archives of Memmingen, Reutlingen, and the rest what Dr. Stehlin has done for Basel. Hitherto, however, no general move has been made in this direction by those who alone are in a position to do so, the only conspicuous exceptions being the work of Dr. Voulliéme on Cologne and that of Dr. Zedler, more comprehensive within its much narrower limits, on Bamberg, together with a few short papers by Dr. Adolf Schmidt, who is himself a notable advocate of the plea here urged.

<sup>1</sup> Reichling, *Appendices*, II, p. 130, *Breviarium Curiense* [1490]. It is there ascribed to the Printer of Jordanus de Quedlinburg, Strassburg.



The Regesten, dealing as they do mainly with records of debts and actions for their recovery, are an exception to the general rule that the annals of the poor are short and simple. For this reason they are of least assistance during the earlier and more prosperous years of Wenssler's activity. On the matriculation lists of Basel University the name of 'Michahel Wensenler de Argentina' is entered for the year commencing 1st May, 1462, but it does not appear that he ever took a degree. Quite possibly he learnt his craft in his native city, as the beginning of Basel printing can hardly be dated back beyond 1468, but it is unlikely that he started a press on his own account before 1472. An edition of Barzizius, 'Epistolae,' the joint work of himself and one Friedrich Biel, was on the market by 1st December of that year, as is proved by a manuscript note of purchase so dated in a copy preserved at Basel, and on the evidence of the type only one other book known to me can be supposed to be earlier than this. In the same month of December there is a mention in the records of the two men as 'die Trukere,' and in June of the following year 'Michel Wenseler von Strassburg ein Trucker' is noted as having bought the citizenship, the statutory fee for which was four guilders.

These details are of some importance in view of the patriotic attempt made by J. J. Amiet<sup>1</sup> to put back Wenssler's date by no less than eight years, to 1464, thus claiming him as the earliest printer of Switzerland, four years earlier than Berthold

<sup>1</sup> Aus den ersten Zeiten der Buchdruckerkunst, in vol. 17 (1892) of the 'Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte.'

Ruppel. Amiet rests his case on the evidence of a book preserved in the Fürstl. Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek at Maihingen (Bavaria), which contains two tracts bound up together—the first a manuscript of Nicolaus de Gorra, 'Super epistolis s. Pauli'; the second a copy of the undated edition of Boethius's 'Consolatio philosophiae,' which is unquestionably among the earliest productions of Wenssler's press (Hain \*3335). In the top cover of this volume, stated by Amiet to be in a very early, probably the original, binding, is written the following inscription in a contemporary hand: 'Anno lxx° [i.e. 1465] Iste liber fuit magistri schön doctōris sacre theologie de nurenerga quem legauit monasterio scti magni in faucibus [i.e. Füssen].' Below this 'the same or an only slightly later hand' continues: 'Item gorra super epistolis s. pauli.—Item bohecus de consolatione philosophie.' The Magister Schön of this inscription appears from notes in other parts of the book to be identical with one Friedrich Schön who died at Basel on 12th October, 1464, and Amiet of course infers that the Boethius, having been Schön's property, must have been printed at some time before this date. Everything depends, however, on whether the two tracts were already cased together in the year 1464, and it is quite impossible to say that a book was bound in 1464 rather than ten or fifteen years later in the absence of the positive evidence of a date-stamp or some similar indication on the outside. There is no proof whatever that the inscription inside the cover refers to more than the manuscript Gorra only;

very possibly it is written on the first blank leaf of the Gorra itself, which was bound up at some later date with the Boethius to suit the convenience of the librarian of Füssen. It is no uncommon thing to find tracts of widely separated dates, and even differing considerably in subject, united in a single volume by the binder, and we may very well assume that this is what happened in the present instance. The second part of the inscription, the enumeration of the contents, was then added for obvious purposes of identification about the same time.

The year 1472 thus remains incontestably the earliest date connected with Wenssler's press; and taking this as a point of departure, it is evident from the size, number and quality of the books printed with his first type that his business flourished exceedingly in the early seventies. By the end of 1474 he had produced a dozen books, some of them of considerable length, and for several years his output was both copious and regular. In 1475 he collaborated with Bernhard Richel in an edition of Caracciolus's *Quadragesimale*, and in 1476 he started on the fine series of law folios, annotated editions of the *Decretals*, *Institutions*, and so forth, which formed the staple of his production for six or seven years, and which he frequently fell back upon afterwards. In 1477 Wenssler, Richel and Ruppel were all associated in the printing of Nicolaus Panormitanus 'Super libros Decretalium' in five immense volumes, about which there will be more to say later on. A copy of this book is noted as having been 'presented by the printers' in the list

of donations to the Works Department of Basel Cathedral, an institution which was not infrequently the recipient of Wenssler's generosity in kind, much as the Charterhouse benefited at the hands of Amerbach.

We are enabled to make an estimate of the resources of the house of Wenssler when at the height of its prosperity by the payment-lists still extant of the Margzalsteuer, a graduated tax levied on the total capital of each citizen as declared on oath by the owner himself. From this it appears that Wenssler stood possessed of 1,400 guilders in 1475, and of 1,600 guilders in 1476, an amount far greater than that of any other printer in the list, with the sole exception of Ruppel's 1,700 guilders in 1477. Even the great Amerbach owned only 1,000 guilders in 1480, which he had increased to 1,500 in 1497. Another list of payments shows us that Wenssler paid Schillingssteuer, a species of poll-tax, on an establishment of no less than twenty-nine persons in 1475, so that he was then clearly in a very considerable way of business indeed. Possibly, too, he combined a type-foundry with his printing-office, if a passing allusion to him in 1484 as 'Giesser' may be trusted. But this prosperity was of short duration. In the declaration for 1479 there is a sensational drop from 1,600 to 1,000 guilders. More than a third of Wenssler's total wealth had gone in a single year. The documents cited by Stehlin throw no direct light on the cause of this disaster; but the fact that Ruppel's total of 1,700 guilders also declined to 1,200 in 1478, and to 1,000 in 1479,

is most significant, and probably gives the clue to what had happened. As noted above, these two printers and Richel (whose name does not occur in the lists) had collaborated in 1477 in the monumental five-volume *Panormitanus*. By an unfortunate chance, two editions of the same work were issued in the same year at Venice, one by Jenson (Hain \*12310), the other by Johannes de Colonia and Manthen (Hain \*12308), and the Basel edition was clearly unable to sustain such keen competition, thereby involving its producers in very heavy losses. Wenssler's temper, it appears, gave way under the strain of his business troubles, for early in the next year, 1480, he was sued for what must have been a most savage assault on one of his workmen, named Ulrich Gengenbach, and cast in damages, surgeon's fees and costs to the amount of '60 Pfund Basler Pfennige.' Previously to this, however, there took place a typographical change in the character of his work which demands a few words of consideration.

Proctor in his Index (Nos. 2768-70) catalogued under the press of Albrecht Kunne at Memmingen three books, all printed with the same types, the first of which, a '*Casus summarii Decretalium*,' is dated 25th August, 1479, and signed '*ingenio Michaelis Wenslers Basilee impressus*,' the other two ('*Formularium instrumentorum*' and Turnhout, '*Casus breues super totum Corpus Juris*') being neither signed nor dated, although the former is proved by a dated manuscript note in the British Museum copy to have been in existence in 1480. The reason which induced Proctor to

assign these books to Kunne, in defiance of the colophon quoted above, was that the two founts of type which they contain very closely resemble two used shortly afterwards in some of Kunne's signed work. Still, he had misgivings from the first. 'The attribution is doubtful,' he remarked in a note, 'as the "*Casus summarii*" has the imprint of Michael Wenssler. It may be a reprint of an edition by Wenssler, possibly of Hain \*4658, which has a table; the B.M. copy [of the "*Casus*" in question] has no table, and the sigs. would not agree with the table described by Hain. Nothing could be less Wensslerian than the appearance of these books.' Although this last observation is perfectly true, yet there can be no abiding doubt that the three books are really Wenssler's work, and Proctor himself on further consideration subsequently restored them to him. A priori, of course, it is highly unlikely that the hypothetical Wenssler edition of a severely unpopular book like the '*Casus*' should have disappeared without leaving a trace behind it. In the next place, the table of Hain \*4658, about which Proctor was in a difficulty, does not really form part of the '*Casus*' at all, but belongs to one of the undated books, the '*Formularium instrumentorum*'; here it fits correctly into the quiring after the body of the book (sig. q after sig. a-p), and is described in its right place over again by Hain (No. \*7276). The copy of the '*Casus*' at Munich from which Hain drew up his description No. \*4658 happens to have this table prefixed to it by a binder's error, and it is absent in the two other copies in the



same library. Moreover, some copies of the table have the word 'Tabula' in the first line misprinted 'Taubla,' and such a copy is described in No. \*7276, whereas in that of No. \*4658 the misprint is corrected. But for this discrepancy, misleading at first sight though really slight enough, Proctor himself would most likely have seen what had occurred, and the little enigma have been solved immediately. Finally—and this is a point of greater importance—one of the three Munich copies of the 'Casus' is bound up with a copy of Bottonus, 'Casus longi decretalium,' which Wenssler had printed not very long before, though with different types.<sup>1</sup> All things considered, therefore, it is amply evident that the group of books in question can have been produced by no one but Wenssler,<sup>2</sup> who then appears to have become dissatisfied with the types and passed them on to Kunne.

The year 1480 may conveniently be taken as the beginning of Wenssler's second period, a period of at any rate comparative prosperity at first, but later on of rapid and progressive decline. The references to his affairs multiply in the Regesten. Ominous entries occur under 18th April and 27th September, 1482, from which it appears that some four years previously Wenssler had bought four

<sup>1</sup> Information as to books in the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek at Munich mentioned in this article has been kindly supplied by Dr. Karl Schottenloher.

<sup>2</sup> This is put beyond doubt by the fact, only discovered since this article was in proof, that the Basel Breviary 'arte et ingenio Michahelis wenssler Basilee impressus,' 2 June, 1480 (Hain \*6266) is printed in the Wenssler-Kunne types.

shares in a mine in the Schneeberg in Saxony, from one Herrmann Nadler, of Zwickau, for 350 guilders, payable in instalments; while on the strength of this transaction Nadler in his turn borrowed 100 guilders in cash from Wenssler. Neither party seems to have made any effort to settle up their respective obligations, and it is hardly surprising to learn that the matter was eventually taken into court at Basel, though the final decision is not reported. In April, 1483, Wenssler appears as paying eighteen guilders interest on money borrowed from Michael Locher at Neufchatel—the first of the entries relating to loans which afterwards become so distressingly frequent. In May, 1484, Wenssler formally puts on record a promise to pay Ludwig Zschekaburlin '160 lb Basler Pfennige,' and gives as surety for the fulfilment of his promise 'die Prefier so er under Hannden hat ze trucken.' These Breviaries are unfortunately not further specified, and can hardly be identified with any of Wenssler's extant productions, but they seem to be the first recorded item of a considerable series of service-books for various dioceses which Wenssler printed on speculation in the latter part of his career, afterwards employing agents to circulate them in the districts concerned. In a good many cases our knowledge of these books is confined to casual allusions in the documents excerpted by Stehlin, and they do not appear to have survived even in a single copy.

More intricate problems, however, require to be faced at this period. In or about 1483 some

change, the reasons for which are altogether obscure, must have taken place in Wenssler's circumstances, and the history of his press becomes curiously uncertain. There is very little difficulty up to this point in determining the sequence of his output, a considerable proportion of the books being both signed and dated, and those that are *sine nota* being easy to bring into line by the aid of the types. From 1483 to 1485, however, Wenssler, for whatever reason, seems to have deliberately avoided putting his name to any book, and this change of policy partly coincides with a change of fount. We know from references in the Regesten that he was printing Breviaries in May, 1484, and again that he was fully occupied in the summer of 1485; but although the books of this latter year seem tolerably certain, the Breviaries cannot be identified, and to both 1483 and 1484 there attaches a mystery as yet unsolved.

One unsigned book dated 1483, and one unsigned book dated 1484, are enumerated among Wenssler's work by Proctor, and none of the bibliographies appear to know of any more. The book of 1483 is a 'Vocabularius utriusque iuris,' printed with types undoubtedly used by Wenssler; but as it contains less than one hundred and fifty leaves, it clearly cannot have taken a whole year to print. Much less can the book of 1484 be supposed to have kept even the most modest press occupied for a twelvemonth, for this is a 'Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque iure,' consisting of only thirty-three leaves of text. Its Basel origin is, however, undoubted, as the colophon says, 'in

alma uniuersitate Basiliensi impressus Anno domini .M.CCCC.Lxxxiiij. die .vij. mensis Aprilis.' But it is, as a matter of fact, possible to associate several other books with it, though they must be sought for in a very different quarter. Proctor marked the 'Modus legendi' as being printed with Wenssler's types 4 and 8, the former a title type of the somewhat massive character much in vogue at Basel, the latter a text type measuring about 90 mm., and occurring nowhere else in Wenssler's work. It appears on a closer examination, however, that the large type of the 'Modus' is really rather lighter than type 4 as found in Wenssler's accredited books, though both are very much alike in general effect, and is apparently indistinguishable from the third type used by Quentell at Cologne. As to type 8, Proctor himself suggested a comparison with two other types—type 3 of the Printer of the 1481 'Legenda Aurea' at Strassburg, and type 4 of the same Quentell. Here again the resemblance is close enough, but whereas in the Strassburg and Cologne types the shaft of minuscule *r* is invariably a plain vertical stroke, the Basel type is peculiar in having the foot of *r* turned over, or hooked, towards the right. Taking this distinction as a guide, we find among the mass of books hitherto ascribed to Quentell five which have the Basel *r*-form in the text type, and which also contain the title type apparently common to both presses. The transference of these books to Basel is therefore unavoidable. The new group consists of the following:

- 6 July, 1484. Jo. Molitoris: tabula Summae b. Antonini.  
Voullième, Buchdruck Kölns, No. 818.<sup>1</sup>
- 13 Aug., 1484. Petrus Lombardus: sententiarum libri iv.  
Proct. 1285.
- n. d. Clemens de Terra Salsa: conclusiones  
super Summam Thomae de Aquino.  
Proct. 1373.
- n. d. Horatius: Sermones. Proct. 1372.
- n. d. Petrus Hispanus: summulae logicales.  
Proct. 1303.

It is to be noted in this connection that the Molitoris and the Lombardus are the only two books bearing the date 1484 enumerated by Dr. Voullième in his list of Quentell's productions, so that, apart from its significance in the history of Basel printing, the transfer has the not unimportant effect of post-dating the beginning of Quentell's second press by one year—to 1485.

A consideration of the titles of the six books here brought together reinforces the suggestion conveyed by the colophon of the first of them, the 'Modus legendi,' that they are the work of a printer connected with, or at any rate catering for, the University. There is nowhere a hint that Wenssler was such a printer, nor is he otherwise known to have printed either logical text-books or any of the Latin classics. Further, we know from the entry in the Regesten already quoted that he was engaged in printing Breviaries in May of this year, and on the face of it he is not very likely to have been doing both these very different kinds of

<sup>1</sup> Information as to the type of this book has been kindly supplied by the librarian of Cambrai, the British Museum not possessing a copy.

work simultaneously. Yet another difficulty is raised by the appearance in the list of Molitoris's Table of the 'Summa' of Antoninus. For early in the very next year, 1485, an edition of the 'Summa' itself in four volumes was printed at Basel, in all probability by Wenssler, as will be seen below. In this the Table of Molitoris appears once more, printed as an appendix to the main body of the work and uniform in size and appearance with it (Proct., No. 7505), but the wording of the colophon differs appreciably from that of the 1484 issue. If Wenssler was really the printer of both, it is natural to ask, why should he not have retained the wording of the earlier in the later? One hesitates to suppose it more than a mere coincidence that this same wording shows the 1484 issue to have been the archetype of the unimpeachably Quentellian edition with the misprinted date 'Anno dñi. M.cccc.&c.', usually read as 1490 (Proct. no. 1301). Or are we to conjecture that it was Quentell himself who was temporarily established at Basel in 1484?

These things remain a mystery, and we must be content to have tabulated some reasons against the Wensslerian authorship of the 1484 group, without being able to disprove it absolutely. As to the two bulky works of 1485, the 'Summa Antonini' already mentioned, and the 'Summa b. Thomae Aquinatis,' their authenticity is less doubtful; but the discussion is complicated by a much greater mass both of evidence and conjecture, and it will be necessary by way of preliminary to shift the ground of the argument to Strassburg.



Proctor in his introductory note to Wenssler remarked that the close relations of that printer with Strassburg caused some difficulties in his types, and he had anticipated this statement in a somewhat formidable footnote to the press of the Printer of the 1483 *Vitas Patrum* at Strassburg, where, among other matters, a distinction is drawn between the latter's text type, type 2, used from 1483 to 1486, and the text type of the Basel books of 1485, listed as type 9 of Wenssler. This distinction was based on the presence or absence of certain majuscule forms in each group, notably those of N and P. Proctor's note, as will be seen presently, requires to be somewhat modified, and it will therefore be best to insert at this point a revised list of all the various groups concerned, in order that the arguments below may be followed without difficulty:

Group 1. Strassburg, Printer of 1483 *Vitas Patrum*. Title type of Strassburg character, foot of r curled to right. N of text type with diamond in centre.

7 March, 1483. *Vitas Patrum*. Proct. 418.

\*1483. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui de tempore. Proct. 419 (Body of text, including colophon with 'Argentine').

5 Feb., 1484. Gritsch: quadragesimale. Proct. 420. (Quires c-z A-F; also sheets G3, 4).

n. d. Casus in terminis Accursii. Proct. 430.

n. d. Colonna: historia troiana. Proct. 429.

n. d. Gesta Romanorum. Proct. 427.

n. d. Manuale parochialium sacerdotum. Proct. 428.

Group 2. Strassburg, Printer of 1484 Paludanus. Title type as in group 1. N of text type rounded to right and crossed.

- \*1483. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui de tempore. Proct. 419. (Only unsigned first quire containing table.)
- 5 Feb., 1484. Gritsch: quadragesimale. Proct. 420. (Sheets G1, 2, quires H-K, also first quire of table in some copies.)
- \*1484. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui de tempore. Proct. 421.
- 7 July, 1485. Vitas Patrum. Proct. 422.
- \*1485. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui quadragesimales. Proct. 423.
- \*1485. Paludanus: sermones Thesauri Noui de Sanctis. B.M. Cat., p. 99, IB. 1312.
- 9 Oct., 1486. Gritsch: quadragesimale. Proct. 425.  
n. d. Corona B. V. Mariae. Proct. 426.  
n. d. Marchesinus: mammotrectus. Hain  
\*10553.

N.B.—Books marked \* mention Strassburg as their place of printing.

Group 3. Basel or Cologne? Title type similar to that of Groups 1 and 2, but with straight-shafted **r** instead of **r** curled at foot. Text type as in Group 1. Assigned by Proctor to Ludwig von Renchen at Cologne.

- 29 Sep., 1483. Vocabularius iuris utriusque. Proct. 1283.
- [29 Sep., 1483. Vocabularius iuris utriusque. Nachträge zu Hains Repertorium, No. 384. Variant of preceding, leaves 2-7, 9-11, 14-16 (*i.e.*, sheets a2-4 and b1-3)

<sup>1</sup> It may be as well to state that the setting-up of the table in this issue differs from that of the 1484 issue (Proct. 421).

being printed with 'Wenssler type 8,' according to Dr. Voulliéme, the rest the same in both.

- n. d. Rolewinck: fasciculus temporum. Proct. 1284. (Cologne woodcuts.)
- n. d. Eyb: margarita poetica. Hain \*6815. (In this group, so far as can be judged from pl. 251 of the Gesellschaft für Typenkunde.)

Group 4. Basel, probably Wenssler. Title type partly as in Groups 1 and 2, partly Wenssler's type 4, partly both mixed. In the text type crossed straight-shafted N, with double shaft to left, occurs in all the books, but there are many alternative forms of majuscules, including the A, the I, the two N's and the three P's of groups 1, 2 and 3.

[5 Feb., 1484. Gritsch: quadragesimale. Proct. 420. (Both quires of table in most copies, second quire only in others.)]

January - May, Antoninus: summa. Proct. 7501-5. 1485. ('Basilee.')

August, 1485; Thomas Aquinas: summa. Proct. 7506-8. 1485. ('Basilee.')

1485. Biblia. Proct. 424.

n. d. Cato moralisatus. Proct. 431. (With small quantities of a heading type of Strassburg character.)

n. d. Textoris de Aquisgrano: sermo de passione Christi. Bonn 1119. See reprod. on pl. 252 of Ges. f. Typenk. ('Premit urbs Basilea.')

Group 5. Basel? Title type various. Text type with crossed straight-shafted N characteristic of group 4, but unmixed.

- n. d. Balbus: catholicon. Proct. 432. (Title type a mixture as in group 4.)  
 n. d. Mandeville: itinerarius. Proct. 433.  
 (Title type apparently as Wenssler's type 4.)

In conclusion, a reference may be made to Hugo de Prato Florido, *Sermones de sanctis*, 21st January, 1485, with Heidelberg as place of printing, which is assigned by Proctor (No. 3126) to the Printer of Lindelbach. This book contains yet another combination of types, the text type being that of group 5, the title type that of groups 1 and 2. It stands apart from the rest of the 'Lindelbach' books, in which, as Proctor pointed out, the text type is 'much mixt with caps. from a German type.'

Dr. Voulliéme, in the preface to his 'Inkunabeln der öffentlichen Bibliothek . . . der Stadt Trier,'<sup>1</sup> was the first to attempt a further analysis of Proctor's footnote, and it is to him that the division of the books originally united under the Printer of the 1483 'Vitas Patrum' into two groups (1 and 2 above), as well as the title 'Printer of Paludanus' for the second, is due. Unfortunately, however, he has gone further than this, and claimed the first group, that containing the original 'Vitas Patrum,' for Wenssler at Basel, leaving only the books of the 'Printer of Paludanus' at Strassburg. His chief reason for doing so is the assumption that the text type of the 'Vitas Patrum' group is identical with that of the 1485 Basel group, which

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1910 as Beiheft 38 of the 'Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen.'

he calls 'Wenssler's Type 9 (gemischt)'; and since he regards the 1484 Gritsch as belonging throughout to group 1, he finds an independent confirmation of his theory in the type of the table of that book, where, as he says, 'there is an admixture of Wenssler's M<sup>21</sup> with a dot in the oval' [i.e., the M of Wenssler's type 6]. Dr. Voulliéme has here fallen into several errors at once, as an examination of the list given above will show. In the first place, he has entirely overlooked the fact that neither the Paludanus of 1483, nor the Gritsch of February, 1484 (the two very books on which he principally bases his argument), is printed with a uniform type throughout. In the Paludanus, indeed, he cannot have pursued his investigations beyond the first quire, which is the only one printed with the type of group 2, the body of the book, including the colophon with the place of imprint, being in the type of group 1. In the Gritsch, on the other hand, the last quires are printed with the type of group 2, the rest of the body of the book being in the type of group 1. There is thus explicit evidence that the types of group 1, as well as those of group 2, are in point of fact Strassburg types; and it is also clear that they must have belonged to closely connected presses, which in two instances shared the printing of a book between them, and that the later of these presses superseded the earlier about February, 1484. It is true that, if group 3 was really printed at Basel, what appears to be precisely the same text type as that of group 1 also occurs in that city about the same time; but this does not necessarily imply any direct

connection between the two groups, nor is there any improbability in the same type being used almost simultaneously in two neighbouring centres. In any case, Dr. Voulliéme is in error in speaking of the type of group 1 as 'Wenssler's Type 9 (gemischt),' for the type of this group is obviously much purer than Wenssler's type 9 as found in the 1485 Antoninus and Aquinas, being indeed almost entirely free from foreign elements.<sup>1</sup> Finally, he has failed to observe that there are variations in the setting up of the Tabula of the 1484 Gritsch, as a glance at the British Museum Catalogue of Fifteenth Century Books, vol. I., p. 98, would have shown him. The setting up found in the Museum copy and in the majority of extant copies is printed throughout with what appears to be Wenssler's type 4 for the headings, and the type of group 4 (Basel, 1485) for the text; it is this setting up which contains an instance of 'Wenssler's M<sup>21</sup> with a dot in the oval.' In the Munich copy (Hain \*8070), on the other hand, the first quire of the table is printed with the two types of group 2, while the second quire belongs to the setting up already described. This change of type is the more conspicuous in that the division between the quires comes in the middle of the words beginning with N, and there is a sudden change in the N-form in consequence. The most obvious explanation of these peculiarities is that a large consignment of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Haebler corrects this error in his note to pl. 251 of the *Gesellschaft für Typenkunde*, where he calls the type 'Wenssler Type 9 (rein),' but he has to admit that it is found in no book with Wenssler's name.



unbound copies of the Gritsch was despatched for sale at Basel, that the quires of the table met with some accident on the way, and that the consignee at Basel had the damage made good on a local press, whether that of Wenssler or another. This theory is further supported by the Uppsala copy, in which, according to information kindly supplied by Dr. Collijn, the first quire is of the Basel setting-up, and the place of the second is taken by manuscript. Thus it will be seen that even the table of the Gritsch cannot be adduced as evidence for connecting the working of the press of group 1 with any other place than Strassburg.

The first two groups having been dealt with, group 3 is the next to come up for consideration. The two most remarkable points about it are (1) the presence in the undated 'Fasciculus temporum,' of woodcuts used by Quentell (in 1481), and Guldenschaff at Cologne and (2) the variant of the 'Vocabularius' containing 'Wenssler type 8'—again evidently a case where damage to some of the original sheets has been made good later on in another type. Dr. Voulliéme, not having noticed that the large type of the 'Vocabularius' is by no means absolutely identical with that of group 1, includes this book among the Strassburg group which he fathers on Wenssler, and for him the variants in 'Wenssler type 8' are, of course, only an additional confirmation of his hypothesis. The 'Fasciculus' he also, though doubtfully, assigns to Wenssler, in spite of its Cologne woodcuts; and indeed it cannot well be separated from the 'Vocabularius,' as the types appear to correspond in every detail in both

books. As to their provenance, it is clear that everything depends on whether the type of the variant pages of the 'Vocabularius' is really 'Wenssler type 8' or not, as it will be remembered that this is the type which was in use at Basel in 1484, but has hitherto been confused with a very similar type used by Quentell at Cologne from 1485 or 1486 onwards. If the variants are printed with the latter type, there is obviously no reason for supposing the group to be of other than Cologne origin, and the problem of dating the beginning of Quentell's second press is opened up afresh. If, on the other hand, the variants are really in the Basel type, as one would like to believe, then, taken in conjunction with the Cologne cuts, they afford an independent and interesting support of the hypothesis suggested above, that Quentell spent part of the years between 1482 and 1485 in Basel.<sup>1</sup> Apart from this, however, there is a further inference to be drawn from the 'Vocabularius.' Assuming it to be a Basel book, it affords strong internal evidence that, whoever may have printed it, Wenssler at any rate did not. Dr. Voulliéme does not appear to have noticed that scarcely a month previously, on 20th August, 1483, there was finished an edition of the same work 'in ciuitate Basiliensi,' printed with Wenssler's types 4 and 7, and beyond reasonable doubt by Wenssler himself (Pr. ct. no. 7498). This edition differs from the September edition (1) in the phrasing of

<sup>1</sup> It is worth remarking that the Basel 'Modus legendi' of 1484 in type 8 contains an admixture of wrong-fount D which may very well be that of the text type of group 3.

the colophon, (2) in not having the protestation by 'huius operis director' after the colophon, (3) in the page-contents (here if anywhere one might expect one of the page-for-page reprints which Wenssler not infrequently produced), (4) in the watermarks. These four points taken together are pretty conclusive proof that the two editions did not issue from the same printing-office, and—always assuming that the September edition is really of Basel origin—are a weighty confirmation of the doubts as to the 1484 group being Wenssler's work expressed in a previous section.

As for group 4, including the two bulky 'Summae' of 1485 with Basel as the place of imprint, and the Bible *sine nota* of the same year, this seems to offer fewer difficulties, and there seems no particular reason why the books included in it should not be Wenssler's productions. A confirmation of the view that he was very busy just about this time is afforded by an interesting entry in the Regesten under 29th July, 1485. It concerns a suit brought by Ulrich Meltinger against Wenssler and a certain Heinrich Zschach, who is on several occasions associated with him. Wenssler and Zschach appear to have taken over liability for a debt of 550 guilders which Meltinger owed to Hans Jungermann, but to have delayed discharging it. Meltinger thereupon pressed them to do so, and Wenssler appealed to the court to allow him grace until Christmas, offering Meltinger as surety 'the work on which he is at present engaged and which he hopes to have finished by Martinmas.' This course was finally agreed upon,

but Wenssler was ordered for further security to hand over to Meltinger 'one hundred printed books entitled [space left blank], which he has just printed (so er yetz gar nach gedruckt) and the value of each of which he estimates at three Rhenish guilders, and also one half of the books which he is about to print next after the aforesaid books and estimates his share (i.e., profit?) in these same books at 1,000 guilders, the said books to be printed off by about Martinmas next.' But for the unpardonable carelessness on the part of the copying clerk in omitting the title of the earlier of the two works in question, this entry would settle the whole problem for good and all, and even as it stands makes it perfectly clear not only that Wenssler was actively engaged in printing at the end of July, 1485, but also that he was at work on large books, which according to his own estimate were then to take him not less than four months to complete. The last date connected with the first book of group 4, the 'Summa Antonini,' is 21st May. Having struck off the whole edition of this, Wenssler would no doubt make immediate preparations for starting on the Summa Aquinatis, and by the end of July would naturally be 'at present engaged' on it. The 'prima secundae' of the Aquinas was finished on 20th August, and assuming that the various parts of the book were completed in their natural order, the two remaining sections, comprising rather more than half the total work, would certainly occupy him during at least two months more. Altogether, then, about six months would appear

to have been spent on the Aquinas. This seems no unreasonable estimate for a large folio, in double columns, of 740 leaves; but if it is correct, it must be pointed out that the 'Summa Antonini' was turned out quite twice as quickly, since, although it contains no less than 1,520 leaves as against 740, the completion of its first section is separated from that of its last by no more than four months and a half (4th January—21st May). Quite possibly, of course, the sections of the Aquinas were printed out of their order, as was certainly the case with those of the Antoninus, so that the date 20th August which is found in the 'prima secundae' is perhaps also that of the end of the whole book. In that case Wenssler, who can scarcely have made a miscalculation of nearly three months in his estimate, deliberately post-dated it to Martinmas in order to give himself more time to find the money wherewith to satisfy Meltinger. The suit, by the way, was still undecided as late as July, 1487.

With the conclusion of group 4 we enter upon the last phase of Wenssler's career at Basel. In 1486 the series of signed and dated books, so mysteriously broken off in 1482, is resumed, to outward appearance with success. In reality, however, disaster was rapidly closing in upon him. In June, 1486, he was the defendant in a peculiar action brought by one Conrad Gilgenstein, called Hablützel, burgess of Basel. This Conrad, it seems, had formerly bought of Wenssler a number of Cologne Breviaries, with which he had been well satisfied. Afterwards Master Michael had

induced him to take over for 400 guilders 600 copies of a Utrecht Breviary, asserting the book to be printed as well as, or better than, the former, and equally accurate. Most of the purchasers, however, to whom he retailed them, had returned him their copies as being 'not in accordance with the order of the Bishopric, but with divers inaccuracies and omissions,' and he therefore applied for an order of the court to compel Wenssler to take back the books, and refund him the purchase money with damages over and above. Wenssler, on his part, asserted that he had sent a special messenger to the Diocese of Utrecht to procure him a Breviary from which to print, and while admitting that his edition might not be complete in every minor detail, denied indignantly that it contained any serious defects: he would be ashamed, he said, to print anything incorrect or with inferior type. The parties were after many delays referred to the Utrecht Chapter for an expert opinion, but the matter was still unsettled as late as January, 1488, when Wenssler made an application that a sealed document delivered to him by the Chapter might be officially opened and read. As Hablützel was absent at the time, the case was adjourned—and that is the last we hear of it. No copy of the Utrecht Breviary appears to be anywhere recorded.

Other creditors were now pressing Wenssler hard. In March, 1487, he and Zschach were jointly sued for a debt of thirty guilders. In July, 1488, he gives a promise to pay Heinrich and Cunrat David 200 guilders at the end of the month;



this particular debt appears to have grown to 245 guilders in September. In October he confesses to another debt of 300 guilders; in January of the next year to another of 100 guilders. In March, 1489, Wenssler and two Strassburg printers, Arbogast Mor and Veit Varbbrenner, give full powers to Johann Heidegger, called Blaubirer (possibly the Johann Blaubirer who printed at Augsburg early in the eighties), to sign in their name a contract 'for printing sundry Mass and Prayer Books at Salzburg for use in that diocese.' It does not appear whether these particular books were ever printed, but in 1490 and 1491 Wenssler was at law with Varbbrenner over another issue, about which there will be more to say below. It was a discreditable piece of litigation enough, but there at least emerges from it one point of typographical interest. This is that Mor and Varbbrenner were at one time the agents of Paulus and Johannes Wider, of Zweibrücken, priests of the diocese of Metz, and that Wenssler had printed for them a Constance Breviary, apparently about the middle of 1490. As Paulus Wider is in one place spoken of in connection with 'Horembach,' or Hornbach, a small town near Zweibrücken, he is clearly identical with the Paulus Wider de Hornbach who appears in Erfurt in 1482 as the printer of a volume of lectures on Aristotle's 'De Anima.' Unfortunately the Basel archives have no occasion to tell us anything more about him beyond the few formal details mentioned in the lawsuit. As to the Constance Breviary, an undated edition of this book in Wenssler's types

was assigned by Proctor (No. 7499) to about 1483, under the mistaken impression that the types employed in it were Nos. 5 and 6 of his list. In point of fact, however, one of them is a mixed type not elsewhere met with, and the only date connected with the other is 1486, in which year it was used for printing the 'Grammatica' of Gutterius. Thus, although there is internal evidence for bringing the Breviary down as late as 1486, there is none at all for assigning it to 1490, and it must therefore remain somewhat doubtful whether this is really the book printed for the Widders.

By the end of 1490, however, Wenssler was no longer his own master. As early as October, 1484, the name of Jacob Steinacher is mentioned as a creditor of Wenssler's for the unimportant sum of 64 guilders. On 6th February, 1490, he reappears, this time as a figure of fatal prominence—a creditor for no less than 460 guilders in cash, as well as thirty bales of paper valued at a further 200. Wenssler now signs an agreement with him, by the terms of which he is to use the paper immediately for printing. The books as soon as printed are to be handed over to Jacob, and truly sold at the best price they will fetch. From the profits Jacob is to deduct immediately 200 guilders for the paper; the next hundred is to be used by Wenssler as part payment of his debt to Jacob, any surplus is to be divided in equal parts and Wenssler's share once more devoted to satisfying Jacob's claims. The titles of the books printed on these thirty bales of paper appear from a recapitulation of the

agreement, dated 25th May. Wenssler's creditors, both home and foreign, had held a meeting on the previous day and pressed for payment; but the court had adjourned bankruptcy proceedings over Whitsuntide, in order that 'mein Herr der Zunftmeister,' who apparently acted as official receiver, might endeavour to obtain a composition on more favourable terms. Steinacher's recapitulation of the 25th seems intended to safeguard the priority of his own claims, and mentions among other things that on the thirty bales of paper Wenssler had printed 'eine Loyca und Phie, yede Ballen für vij gulden.' This 'Logica' and 'Philosophia' are evidently identical with two tracts by Joh. de Magistris, 'Quaestiones super totum cursum logicae' and 'Quaestiones super philosophia naturali,' which constitute § 6 of the heading Basel, Miscellaneous, in Proctor (nos. 7793, 7794). These tracts should therefore be included among Wenssler's work, and with the less hesitation that all the three types which they contain occur elsewhere in his latest productions.

But Wenssler had not done with Steinacher yet. On 20th February the archives record another agreement, from which it appears that Steinacher had lately lent Wenssler a further 150 Rhenish guilders 'to print certain Breviaries.' The profits of the sale are to be divided in the same one-sided manner as before, but nothing is said of the 200 guilders for paper, while the principal debt has increased from 600 to 660 guilders. On 18th March two further declarations appear. The first is in the joint name of Wenssler and his wife, who

acknowledge the receipt of 200 guilders in cash from the honourable Jacob Steinacher, called Allgauer, merchant and burgess of Basel, repayable by S. John's day next, for which payment they pledge a quantity of wearing apparel, furniture and jewellery, the items being set out at length in the record. In the second declaration Wenssler formally acknowledges that he has sold to Steinacher 'all and every his implements and furniture for printing, as presses, formes, and so forth, with all appertaining thereto, all the type which he has in use, small and large, matrices and all other gear and apparatus belonging to the printing office,' for 253 guilders paid to him in cash, and that he hereby resigns all these things into the custody of the purchaser.

From these entries it is clear that Wenssler's career as an independent printer ceased in March, 1490, and that his finances were in such a condition as to make him dependent on the good pleasure of his principal creditor, even for the ordinary expenses of his household. After his prosperity of the seventies Wenssler no doubt felt this reversal of fate particularly keenly; and reading between the lines of the records one fancies it possible to detect a desire to put unpleasant things as considerately as might be on the part of Allgauer, who seems also to have allowed Wenssler a good deal of latitude during the following twelvemonth. Be this as it may, he lost no time in setting his newly acquired presses to work under their late owner's direction. By the very next day (19th March) an agreement had been drawn up whereby Wenssler

engaged himself to print off an edition of 'Bettbücher genant Brevier in das Kungrich England dienende' in eight weeks' time, Steinacher paying him 'in Belonungs wise' 160 Rhenish guilders, in weekly instalments of ten in cash, the other half of the sum being apparently represented by paper for the book. This Breviary for English use seems to have completely disappeared. There exists indeed an undated Missale ad usum Sarum printed with Wenssler's types (Proct. no. 7519), but the text of the agreement explicitly mentions Breviaries, and this cannot well be an error for Missals. It is more probable that the Sarum Missal was printed in 1489, and dispatched to England in November of the same year, when a passport was issued by the City Council to Hans Wiler, Jacob von Kilchen, and Michael Wenssler, who purposed to convey one small and four large barrels of books, all their own property, down the Rhine to Flanders and thence to England. Wenssler's weekly dole of guilders apparently did not enable him to pay his workmen's wages, and the matter was taken into court before Allgauer himself could be prevailed upon to settle their claims. Among the workmen is Ludwig von Elchingen, who had printed a small book with some of Wenssler's type in 1487, and is evidently identical with the Ludwig Hohenwang de Elchingen who had worked on a larger scale at Augsburg ten years previously.

The end was now fast approaching. Although his relations with Steinacher were now less agitated, Wenssler was totally unable to cope with his other

creditors. In August, 1490, distraint was levied on part of his effects, and records of claims against him multiply. Still his presses continued active, partly on Steinacher's account and partly on his own. At some date not specified during the year 1490, he handed over to Heinrich David and Heinrich Ingoldt 'ninety-nine printed Missals, unbound, of the diocese of Worms, and fifty small books called *Sermones Ruperti*,' in settlement of a debt. A copy of the Worms Missal is described in J. Baer & Co.'s *Lagercatalog* 585, No. 565, but what the '*Sermones Ruperti*' may have been is not very evident; no book answering to such a title seems to be registered as Wenssler's. In January, 1491, a similar procedure was adopted to satisfy a demand for 120 guilders, 'long overdue,' on the part of Hanns von Kilchen, a councillor—800 copies of a Breviary for the use of Trier were to be printed, Hanns von Kilchen adding 70 guilders in cash and 60 guilders' worth of paper to his original loan to enable Wenssler to make a start; each quire as it was finished was to be delivered up to Hanns, who was to recoup himself to the extent of his total outlay by the sale of the books, any profit which might accrue over and above this going to the printer. Here again we must stand by the letter of the entry, and say that no trace of these Breviaries remains, although a Trier Missal exists (Pr., No. 7518). On 15th March appears the record of another suit brought by two parties of Wenssler's workmen. The first party complained that they had printed for Wenssler an edition '*des Werkes difficilium terminorum*,'



but had not received the money which he had agreed to pay them on its completion, although the book had been immediately reprinted, and the rest of the workmen duly paid off. These latter declared that Wenssler had in the first instance contracted with them for the printing of the book, but had fallen ill while it was being printed, and that the whole edition was thereupon sold by his wife, who received a third of the price and part of their wages in cash. Allgauer had then invited them to print a second edition, saying that the presses were his property, and had paid them for it when it was finished. Mistress Wenssler deposed that her husband never approved this arrangement, and still considered that he and not Allgauer should have taken the profits of the second edition. Finally, Allgauer's representative asserted that Wenssler had in fact given his consent, and that, besides, Allgauer had found the paper and all other necessities for the second edition. The court held that the first set of workmen had made out their case. There are several points of interest about all this. In the first place, the two editions in question of Armandus de Bellouisu, '*Declaratio difficilium terminorum*,' can hardly be other than those dated respectively '*Prima Marcij*' and '*primo Kalendis Aprilibus*,' 1491, and entered by Proctor (Nos. 7588, 7589) under Johann Amerbach, with the note '[For M. Wenssler].' His remark in the prefatory note under Wenssler—'the two books of 1491 were printed when Wenssler no longer possessed a press'—is of course literally correct, since the presses were now Steinacher's

property; but it is abundantly clear from the foregoing that all the books of 1490 and 1491 were printed by Wenssler himself under agreement with Steinacher, and have no connection whatever with Amerbach. But then a difficulty at once arises: if these two editions are really those discussed in court, why has the later, at any rate, been post-dated by more than a fortnight (the case having been tried on 15th March)? Certainly the month-dates found in colophons are often rather suspect, since many compositors seem to have been somewhat vague as to the exact force of the terms 'Kalends,' 'Ides,' and 'Nones,' but so wide a margin of ignorance or carelessness as this would seem to imply is really startling. The matter is further complicated by the colophon of an edition of the 'Paradisus Animae' which asserts that it was 'Michael wenssler . . . laboribus et impensis proprijs elaboratum' on the very same day, 'primo Kalendis aprilibus,' of 1491. Were these two books really, by some strange coincidence, finished off within a few hours of each other? Or, because the first issue of the Armandus had been dated in March, was the second dated in April as a rough and ready distinction? Or are we to suppose that there were three issues, the first of which has now completely disappeared, and that only the first two figured in the lawsuit?<sup>1</sup> No satisfactory answer to these questions is possible.

<sup>1</sup> This last view might seem to be slightly strengthened by the fact that whereas the 'March' issue contains no printer's name, the 'April' issue proclaims itself produced 'Impensis Michaelis wensler,' and not 'Jacobi Allgauer,' as one would more naturally expect.

Finally, it appears from the testimony of the compositors that in Basel at this date the rule was to contract with the necessary number of journeymen for doing a certain piece of work in return for a certain definite sum, and to pay them the whole amount as soon as the work was finished. It would be interesting to know whether this was everywhere the usual practice, and whether it applied only to smaller books, such as the 'Amandus.' One imagines that in the case of large books requiring a long time to print the men must have received something on account, as they could scarcely be expected to go for months without any payment at all.

The two books of 1st April, 1491, are the last known to have been printed at Basel by Wenssler. A few weeks after that date he had fled the city. It is possible to make a guess that the immediate cause was the lawsuit already alluded to in which Veit Varbenbrenner was the original plaintiff. Allgauer, it appears, had 'some time previously' lent Wenssler a further 150 guilders, and Wenssler had given him as surety 200 copies of an unspecified Missal, at the same time affirming on oath that he had not previously pledged them to anybody else. Varbenbrenner now claimed them as his property on behalf of the Widlers, and brought an action against Allgauer for wrongfully withholding them. Wenssler in his turn accused Varbenbrenner of having forged one of the documents in the case. The quarrel became so violent, and the parties displayed such obvious malice in the recklessness of their charges against each other

—Varbenbrenner in particular ‘spoke many evil words,’ as the records note—that at last the City Fathers were constrained to lock up both Wenssler and his opponent on a charge of perjury to keep them quiet. A formal intervention of the Count of Zweibrücken on behalf of Varbenbrenner and the Widlers, with the consequent prospect of ‘international complications,’ seems to have roused great resentment against Wenssler among the authorities, and the Council passed resolutions, not only that he should be kept under lock and key so long as the credit of the city might be considered in any way involved in the affair, but that he should afterwards be expelled from Basel altogether if the judicial enquiry offered any reasonable pretext for doing so.<sup>1</sup>

That Wenssler had indeed brought himself within reach of the law is unhappily only too probable. In his desperate embarrassment the chance of a further advance from Allgauer seems to have been too great a temptation, and he gave in pledge to Allgauer the Missals he had already sold to the Widlers. It is true that he was not long in custody; the quarrel with Varbenbrenner was patched up by the mediation of ‘the men of Strassburg,’ and the Count of Zweibrücken ceased from troubling after a time. But Wenssler, having alienated in Allgauer the one man still willing to help him, now gave up the struggle in despair,

<sup>1</sup> This, at any rate, seems to be the meaning of the words: ‘Wa man aber jnn mit Recht siner Verhandlung nach [mag?] dazu bringen, dz man sin gantz abkomen mocht, ware das best’ (Stehlin, No. 1221).

and about the middle of May slunk out of Basel, a ruined man, leaving his unfortunate wife to face matters out. On the 18th she was summoned for a debt which she owed jointly with her husband, it being already rumoured that he had fled. This she denied, saying that he was away on urgent business which he had been too ill to attend to, and begging that the case might be adjourned for a fortnight, when he would be back. The court granted the delay, but enjoined her to sell none of her property meantime, whereupon she significantly requested to be allowed to sell some part of it, as she and her children had nothing to eat. On 7th July Wenssler's creditors appeared in court 'in mergklicher zal,' stating that he had not returned and no one knew what had become of him, and demanding that an inventory of all assets might be made, as he had taken a number of things away with him and there was little left in the house. The wife declared through Heinrich Gredler, her procurator, that her husband had 'leider eben liederlich huss gehalten,' and if he had listened to her advice things would not have come to this pass. She herself and her children were now destitute, and could not pay her husband's debts, so that she could not oppose the application. The officials sent to make the inventory found 'in the attics a few bedsteads without any bedclothes, in the bedroom a few boxes and chests, all quite empty and nothing in them, and one bedstead with bolsters and pillows. In the workshop are only the presses and their wooden gear, the formes and type and melting-pots are all

gone. In the kitchen is a range, with a few pots and pans, in a closet imperfect books and such like printed stuff all thrown together in a heap.' Wenssler was thereupon officially declared a defaulter and fugitive, and by October of the next year the same fate had overtaken his wife, who fled the city to escape arrest for the debt, leaving only 'trumpery' behind her. It is a melancholy ending to a career begun with so much promise.

Wenssler's later career can still be traced up to a certain point.<sup>1</sup> First of all he made his way to Lyon, where it appears that he hired a fresh printing outfit from Matthias Huss. Equipped with this, he was in a position to pursue his former policy of printing service-books for use in a particular diocese, but he now brought his presses with him and printed on the spot, instead of on speculation at a distance, as in his Basel days. Thus he completed a 'Breviarium Cluniacense' and a 'Missale Cluniacense' at Cluny in 1492 and June, 1493, respectively, and a 'Diurnale Matisconense' at Mâcon in March of the following year. But there was apparently little money now in this branch of the business. The colophon of the Cluny Missal tells us with bitter irony that it was produced 'plus affectu deuotionis quam lucrandi causa,' and by April, 1495, Wenssler was back in Lyon, where he resumed another of his old specialities, the production of large legal folios, three of which he printed in the same year. He apparently became a person of some consequence

<sup>1</sup> See Rondot, 'Les Graveurs sur bois et les Imprimeurs de Lyon au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle.'



in Lyonnese printing circles, and continued at Lyon until 1498, when he was involved in a most discreditable quarrel with another printer concerning a certain Marguerite la Picarde; a free fight among the company ended in a man being killed, and Wenssler appears to have fled the city in consequence. In March, 1499, the Basel Council gave him a conditional safe conduct back into their city in order to come to terms with his 'Widersacher und Ansprecher'; his then place of residence is unfortunately not indicated. This is the last we hear of him directly, but he was dead by 1512, when his widow is mentioned as living at Lyon.

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the strictures of M. Jules Lemaître, Arthur Meyer's 'Ce que je peux dire' is an interesting and entertaining book. Many contemporary developments are touched on with insight and with wit. The pages on 'The decay of the salon' give much food for thought. They might almost be entitled 'The decay of conversation in modern society,' a fact that is a significant sign of the times. M. Meyer, who is, of course, only dealing with Paris, suggests two causes: the rise of the club, 'cette singerie Anglaise,' as he impolitely phrases it, and the spread of the cosmopolitan spirit which

'étend ses ravages sur la société, à travers tous les pays, en lui enlevant toute physionomie qui lui soit propre, c'est-à-dire toute physionomie nationale. . . . Tous les salons se ressemblent . . . c'est le même personnel, le même décor, la même toilette du même faiseur, le même culte de l'argent, le même snobisme, le même goût de la publicité, la même effroi des questions sérieuses, et le même langage dans les langues différentes. On ne cause plus, on babille; on ne danse plus, on sautille; on ne fait pas le cour, on flirte; on a des fantaisies, on ignore l'amour. Autrefois l'on s'enlevait; aujourd'hui on négocie, on s'arrange.'

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And, as if to prove his point, M. Meyer gives many samples of the conversation of well-known French men and women of letters in the eighties. Here are some remarks, for example, made by François Coppée on Béranger :

‘Si vous voulez couronner parmi les poètes modernes un héritier, des Grecs, il y en a un : c’est Béranger. L’art grec, c’est la perfection. Qu’y a-t-il de plus parfait, de plus harmonieux en son genre que certaines chansons de Béranger? . . . Au moins celui-là n’a pas larmoyé en amour comme les romantiques et comme nous-mêmes.’

Coppée pays also a fine tribute to Dumas *père*—

‘le plus puissant, le plus prodigieux inventeur en littérature, celui qui est à la fois l’historien dont l’histoire ressemble le plus au roman, et le romancier dont les écrits ont au plus haut point le relief de la vie : c’est Alexandre Dumas—oui—Alexandre Dumas, le père.

‘Un jour tout ce que nous avons écrit, et d’autres plus grands que nous, aura probablement péri ; mais d’Artagnan et Monte-Cristo continueront de vivre dans l’imagination populaire. Les hommes ne les oublieront pas. C’est la grande marque et le privilège du génie.’

I have now read Jules Lemaître’s delightful lectures on Chateaubriand, and they should certainly be studied in conjunction with the books referred to in the April number of ‘THE LIBRARY.’ In his final criticism of Chateaubriand, M. Lemaître is in his happiest vein. He declares, after pointing out some of Chateaubriand’s defects, that he possesses certain—

‘sentiments allégeants tels que la piété sans beaucoup de foi, la fantaisie de juger les choses vraies, dans la mesure,

où elles sont belles, et une sorte de mélancolie qui est une défense enchantée contre la douleur: sentiments peu sociaux dont il ne faut pas vivre, mais qu'il est bon de connaître.'

And he leaves him with the phrase, 'il est l'inventeur d'une nouvelle façon d'être triste.'

The 'Correspondance et Fragments inédits' of Eugène Fromentin is an attractive volume. It is well edited by Pierre Blanchon, who issued in 1909 Fromentin's 'Lettres de Jeunesse.' The new collection covers the period from Fromentin's settling in Paris in 1849 until his death in 1876. It contains a number of letters written to and by George Sand between 1857 and 1866. Fromentin, following the French custom, sent her a copy of his 'L'été dans le Sahara.' She was charmed with it, and replied that she had never read anything 'de plus artiste et de plus maître.' Indeed there was much resemblance between them on the artistic side of their temperaments, and they fell easily into the habit of writing to each other, and Fromentin paid a few visits to George Sand at Nohaut, to the great satisfaction and enjoyment of both.

The letters in the volume afford glimpses of the Empire and its social life. Fromentin writes to his wife from Compiègne, where he visited Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugénie in 1864. Among his fellow guests were Meissonier, Dumas, Flaubert, and Augier. They were all lodged in the same wing of the castle. It was in November, and Fromentin's chief impression seems to have been of the intense cold. 'J'ai une antichambre,

un salon, une chambre à coucher, deux cabinets de toilette, une chambre de domestique, une forêt dans la cheminée, la Sibérie à deux pas du feu.' But he is delighted with the 'extrême affabilité de la part des maîtres de la maison.' Fromentin was also present as a guest at the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and for the first time saw Egypt and the Nile—'le pays magnifique et le Nil un des plus beaux fleuves qu'il y ait au monde.' He brought back with him notes on Egypt, forming material for a book that was unhappily never written. At a dinner once, where Goncourt was present, Fromentin talked about Egypt—'Ah! ces heures! Je veux écrire quelque chose sur ces heures. . . . Simplement afin de m'en redonner la sensation.' And we are told that he went on to describe the country with a memory which had 'le souvenir du jour, du vent, du nuage, une mémoire locale inouïe, mettant avec la couleur de sa parole sous nos yeux les tournants du Nil, les aspects des pylônes, les silhouettes des petits villages, les lignes cahotées de la chaîne Libyque, comme s'il nous en montrait les esquisses.'

The letters to his family and his friends during the Franco-German War are a running commentary on the events of the time. The Fromentins were in Venice when war was declared, but immediately returned to their home at Saint-Maurice, near La Rochelle, and there endured the terrible anxiety and suspense.

The following letter, dated 26th March, 1871, shows the point of view taken of the events of the Commune by men of Fromentin's stamp:

'La situation est affreuse. Je n'ai jamais éprouvé de douleur patriotique plus profonde, ni si totalement, perdu tout espoir. La guerre n'était rien, ce qui se passe aujourd'hui n'a de nom dans aucune langue politique.

'Si j'étais *libre*, je quitterais la France, sans aucun regret, sans aucun remords. Je me sens délié de tout ce qui m'attachait à mon pays par le dégoût, la honte de lui appartenir et le mépris. Je n'aime plus de la France que son histoire, son passé qui ne revivra plus.'

Fromentin's finest book, '*Les Maîtres d'Autrefois*,' published in 1875, was the outcome of a journey in Belgium and Holland. In the volume before us we have, so to speak, a rough draft in the shape of notes and letters written on the spot. They were afterwards worked up into what seems to me to be one of the best books ever written on pictures and their painters.

In '*Une Année dans le Sahel*' and '*Le Sahara*' Fromentin is the ancestor of Loti in his talent for bringing out the charm of exotic lands. This is seen also in his paintings, as those acquainted with the examples to be found in the Louvre and at Chantilly must feel. He wrote one romantic novel, '*Dominique*' (1862), which was characterised by the critic Edmond Schérer as '*une œuvre exquise, distinguée, sans note fausse, une vieille histoire des jeunes amours*,' destined not for a numerous public, but for '*gens de goût*.' Fromentin died 27th August, 1876.

By way of introducing those who are not acquainted with his work to Bernard Shaw, M. Charles Cestre has published a book entitled '*Bernard Shaw et son œuvre*.' Cestre's classification



of the plays is curious. He puts them under the five heads: social realism, psychology, love, ethics, and sociology. He might almost be dealing with a Shakespeare! The dramas themselves are destined for 'une élite pensante.' The complexity of Shaw's work responds, so Cestre finds, to the complex soul of the modern (I wonder if it is so complex after all), and he writes, 'Cette littérature de contradictions et de contrastes plaît à notre époque inquiète, indécise et raffinée.'

It might almost be said of Romain Rolland that he adorns everything he touches, at least, he gives an original turn to any subject he treats. In his volume on 'Michel-Ange' he complains that most biographers of Michael Angelo study his genius in fragments, but to understand it properly it must be studied as a whole. The painter, the sculptor, the architect, the poet must be considered, for he breathed into all those arts 'le vertige de sa force et de son idéalisme. Rolland believes that what he calls the 'common-sense' geniuses are the most useful to mankind. 'Les héros de l'art en sont aussi les tyrans: leur gloire tue; plus ils sont grands, plus ils sont à craindre, car ils imposent à tous les hommes les lois d'une personnalité qui ne fut et ne sera jamais qu'une fois. Ce sont les puissances dévorantes. Ils l'éclairent mais ils brûlent.' No one understands great men of that stamp, yet all imitate them, whereas they should never be used as models in art: so employed they can only stultify the student. They are examples of energy, they are suns in power and in

beauty. 'Il faut se retremper un instant dans leur lumière, puis s'arracher à leur contemplation, et agir.' It is a point of view I do not remember to have seen put in this way before.

'Le travail dans le monde romain,' by Paul Louis, comes at an opportune moment, when conditions of labour are so largely occupying the public mind. In the successive phases of the organization of work, Rome shows the continuity and unity that marks her general history. The author describes the various aspects of the economic activity of a people with whom for a long time war was the sole industry. The policy of Rome was 'interventionniste.' The individual was of no account, from the service of the family he passed to that of the state. The state took charge of everything, regulated all labour, and because from the very beginning the people had so high a reverence for the state, they were only mildly angry when the state interfered with their rights. When the vitality of the universal bureaucracy was sapped, Rome fell. It is a most interesting book, and might be studied with profit by some modern labour leaders.

Interesting reflections on contemporary life and religion may be found in the 'Mélanges historiques et littéraires' of S. E. le Cardinal Mathieu. He was author, orator, bishop, and man of action, an ardent and enthusiastic servant of the Church and of his country. His sermons, especially his 'discourses de mariage,' are full of good things. He believed in the benefits of state education and in the efficacy of work.

Indeed, one of the finest sermons printed here is an exhortation to work, the illustrations being drawn from the habits of ants. His funeral sermon on Macmahon is full of significance. After describing him as 'le héros de nos gloires, la victime de nos désastres,' the cardinal continues: 'Macmahon fut entraîné dans la politique à son corps défendant. Sans avoir ni les qualités ni les défauts qui font qu'on y réussit . . . il était honnête homme.' Clever epigrams are scattered through all the writings. 'Exposés à la faillite du bonheur, il faut surtout nous attacher au devoir,' is one of the happy phrases to be found on almost every page.

During a recent visit to France, the works of Jules Renard were brought to my notice. He died a couple of years ago, and is scarcely known out of his own country. Yet his writings must appeal to all who appreciate French genius on its most attractive and characteristic side. He wrote chiefly little plays like 'Poil de Carotte' and 'Pain de Menage,' some slight sketches and a few short tales. His prose is admirable, his dialogue full of pointed wit. More often than not his subjects are on the fringe of the tragic. The most important revelations are made in the most simple fashion, without emphasis, and yet they suffice. Take, for instance, the following dialogue between Poil de Carotte and his father, M. Lepic. The little boy is always treated by his mother as a sort of Cinderella, a slave of all work, and at last he can bear it no longer and determines to speak out to his father:—

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'Poil de Carotte : Je veux quitter cette maison.

'M. Lepic : Qu'est-ce que tu dis ?

'P. de C. : Je voudrais quitter cette maison.

'M. Lepic : Parceque ?

'P. de C. : Parceque je n'aime plus ma mère.

'M. Lepic : Et moi, crois-tu donc que je l'aime ?'

The little play has lately been revived at the Français. In the words of one of the critics, 'Voici encore une chose fine.' To anyone tired of the usual run of contemporary French novels and plays, I confidently recommend the works of Jules Renard.

\* \* \* \* \*

The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Etudes sur l'année 1813. L'intervention de l'Autriche (Decembre, 1812—Mai, 1813). Par Vte. Jean d'Ussel.

Gives a rigorously exact presentment of facts, and forms a continuation to the same author's 'La défection de la Prusse.'

Les drames de l'histoire. Par Comte Fleury.

Deals with the adventures of Mesdames de France during the emigration, of Madame de Lavalette and of Gaspard Hauser.

1871, la commune à Paris et en province (Février-Mai). Par Lieut.-Colonel Rousset.

An epitome of the events from 18th March to 29th May, rather than a detailed history. The book contains some interesting portraits.

Correspondance inédite de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> conservée aux archives de la guerre. Publiée par Ernest Picard et Louis Tuetey. Vol. I., 1804-7.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 331

The letters are almost exclusively military, and thus serve to facilitate an exhaustive study of the history of the great wars of the First Empire. The book is, indeed, as valuable for the general instruction of the army as for the work of historians and scholars.

**Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène, 1815-21.** Par Frédéric Masson.

The author claims to have here set forth not impressions, but facts based on sources English and European, on English and French testimony found in authentic documents.

**Initiation philosophique.** Par Emile Faguet.

A textbook of philosophy, very short and concise, from Socrates to Bergson.

**Delphine de Sabran, Marquise de Custine.** Par Gaston Maugras et le C<sup>te</sup> P. de Croze-Lemercier.

The life and loves of a woman during and after the Revolution. A succession of famous names pass across the pages. It is all a curious 'mélange.' The lack of literary form lowers the interest of material that with greater skill should have made an arresting tale.

**Sébastien Zamet, évêque-duc de Langres (1588-1655).** Sa vie et ses œuvres. Les origines du Jansénisme. Par Louis N. Prunel.

Zamet is well known to students of seventeenth century history, but this is the first attempt 'de faire revivre dans un tableau d'ensemble la physionomie morale de ce prélat.' Zamet was a friend of Richelieu, and from 1625 to 1636 Director of the Port Royal.

**Les Rapports de Bossuet avec l'Angleterre (1672-1704).** Par G. Lambin.

A modest contribution by a young student to comparative literature, ending with a very interesting 'aperçu' of Bossuet's opinion on England.

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332 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Among new novels the following are the most important :—

*Les deux cahiers.* Par Paul Acker.

*Madeleine Jeune Femme.* Par René Boylesve.

*Missette.* Par Marcel Prévost.

Contains three stories, each a study of a woman.

*Lilla. Scènes de la vie corse.* Par J. B. Natali.

Shows the Corsicans to be still a primitive people in their passions and morals.

*Un Obstacle.* Par Jean de la Brète.

*L'élève Gilles.* Par André Lafon.

A study of a little boy's thoughts which has been awarded by the French Academy the newly instituted 'Grand Prix de Littérature.' I wonder, however, if the author does not attribute to the child thoughts likely to occur only to older persons.

*Le marché aux fleurs.* Par Marcel Boulenger.

*Ille Mihi.* Von Elizabeth von Heyking.

*Umweg.* Von Hermann Hesse.

Five short stories.

*Gabriel Schillings Flucht.* Von Gerhart Hauptmann.

A drama in five acts dealing with the ruin of a man for whom two women, his commonplace wife and a fascinating Russian, struggle. An old story, and, alas! here treated in very commonplace fashion.

ELIZABETH LEE.



## THE LITERARY OUTPUT OF DANIEL DEFOE.

**I**N 1715, when Defoe was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, it is recorded that he suffered from an apoplectic seizure, which is usually considered one of the most fruitful sources of cerebral debility. Can we find that this affection had any influence on the amount of literary work he produced?

During the previous year, 1714, he had produced, according to William Lee, 28 quarto and 313 octavo printed pages; while during 1715, the year in which this indisposition occurred, he issued 849 octavo and 444 duodecimo pages; but it is noticeable that while 1,167 of these pages appeared before 14th July, only 126 were given to the world during the five and half later months of that year, and the production of the following year, 1716, amounted to only 134 octavo pages in all. The year 1717 saw 873 octavo pages produced, and in 1718 663 pages (259 8vo and 404 12mo) were issued.

Up till the commencement of the year 1719, Defoe is credited with 190 published writings, nearly all of them political in character; but in this year of 1719 he began to produce copious works of an entirely different nature, while still

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continuing to write political pamphlets, and still being engaged in editing and superintending various journals of the period. The new ventures, including the two first volumes of 'Robinson Crusoe,' amounted in 1719 to 940 octavo pages, and the political pamphlets to 195 octavo pages—making in all 1,135 pages. The success of the new venture being great, Defoe is assumed to have pursued this new vein of writing to such an extent as to have produced nearly as much in the succeeding ten years of his life, when he was between fifty-eight and sixty-eight years of age, as he had written in the first fifty-eight, although he is said in these first fifty-eight years to have 'given to the world a greater number of distinct works than any other living writer.' The following table shows his annual output from 1719 to 1728:

OCTAVO PAGES			OCTAVO PAGES		
1719 -	-	1,135	1724 -	-	1,236
1720 -	-	1,485	1725 -	-	1,348
1721 -	-	36	1726 -	-	1,586
1722 -	-	1,556	1727 -	-	2,061
1723 -	-	483	1728 -	-	527
TOTAL -			11,453 octavo pages.		

While thus engaged Defoe was editing or conducting—

- (1) a monthly publication of nearly one hundred pages;
- (2) a paper published weekly;
- (3) another paper appearing thrice a week; and
- (4) for a great part of the time a fourth paper issued weekly.

Among the works published in 1720 are three separate biographies requiring over 1,000 octavo printed pages, all of which appeared between 30th April and 4th June. When we examine the matter contained in these thousand pages of so-called romances, we find them recording historical scenes at which Defoe could not have been present, and yet not only do they give the impression of truth, but they stand the test of historical investigation.

In the same way during the years 1724-27, being then from sixty-three to sixty-six years old, Defoe is credited with having issued 6,231 octavo pages—*i.e.*, an average of 1,558 octavo pages per annum. Among these are found 2,000 pages of romance, 1,612 pages of works on the Arts, 1,249 pages describing a tour by the author through Great Britain, a political essay of over 400 pages, and a moral essay of over 300 pages.

In the face of this marvellous and almost incredible fertility, it seems not unreasonable to ask whether Defoe could have had one or more imitators, and thus have acted as the manager of a literary partnership; or was he really, as he frequently averred, only the editor, and not the creator, of some of these works?

W. L. PURVES.

## CAMBRIDGE FRAGMENTS.

POSTSCRIPT.<sup>1</sup>

[Reprinted from the 'Christ's College Magazine,' Vol. XXVI, No. 79.]

**I**CAN now hazard a safer suggestion as to the artist of the beam-paper described and reproduced in the last number of the 'Christ's College Magazine.' There can be little doubt that he was none other than Hugo Goes, whose work is described in Herbert's 'Typographical Antiquities,' Vol. III, p. 1439, and by Mr. Gordon Duff in his 'English Provincial Printers' (Sandars Lectures 1911). The description of a woodcut by him printed at Beverley, and since lost, is sufficiently interesting to bear transcription:

A wooden cut of a man on horseback with a spear in his right hand and a shield, with the arms of France in his left. Emprinted at Beverley in the Hye-gate by me Hewe Goes with his mark or rebus of a great H and a goose.

<sup>1</sup> The original article in 'THE LIBRARY' of October, 1911, was reprinted in the 'Christ's College Magazine,' Vol. XXVI, No. 79, with additional notes. The Postscript here reprinted from the College Magazine contains the more important addition to the information there given.—C. S.

Goes was living in Steengate, York, and printing there on 18th February, 1509. For his London work I may refer the reader to Mr. Duff's volume.<sup>1</sup>

But since this foregoing additional paragraph was written I have had the advantage (23rd May, 1912<sup>2</sup>) of showing these fragments to Mr. Duff himself. He not only confirms my *δεύτεραι φροντίδες*, but points out to me that Goes was himself the printer of a proclamation.<sup>3</sup> What more likely then that these proclamations were printed by Goes himself? Mr. Duff further points out that the type of one of the three proclamations is not exactly Pynson's type, and that the initial letter is a close copy of a Pynson initial, but not an actual Pynson block. I have myself drawn attention to the fact that the wood-block at the head of the proclamation is not exactly one known to have been used by Pynson.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Mr. Duff is of opinion that the types of the three proclamations do not exactly agree. It is possible, therefore, that

<sup>1</sup> See also G. Oliver, 'History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley,' 1829, 4<sup>o</sup>, p. 175. The author of that work asserts that Goes was printing at Beverley in 1506.

<sup>2</sup> Exactly twelve months since their first discovery.

<sup>3</sup> Herbert, 'Typ. Ant.' III. 1437.

<sup>4</sup> 'Christ's College Magazine,' Vol. XXVI, p. 56, note 2. ['By an oversight in examining Mr. Steele's book I did not notice the series of blocks reproduced on p. 449 of his second volume. The cut of the royal arms and angels is similar to, but not identical with, his block No. 2, used by Pynson. Ours may be identified by the fact that the single tuft of grass on the left consists of four blades and not of three. There is another border ornament not mentioned in the text, nor reproduced by Mr. Steele, containing two birds.']

we are here in possession of some of the actual printing of Hugo Goes, of which no other vestige remains.

But why should Hugo Goes be at work in Christ's College, for Lady Margaret's new Lodge, when she was employing Wynkyn de Worde<sup>1</sup> as her printer? The reply to this enquiry has led me further afield. On 11th July, 1907, I saw Beverley Minster for the first time, little expecting to turn my experiences there to account in this manner afterwards. But while investigating lately the claims of Goes to the production of the Christ's College beam-paper, it occurred to me that I had heard of some connection between Christ's College and Beverley before. No light, however, was thrown upon this, either in C. H. Cooper's 'Life of Lady Margaret,' or in Oliver's 'History of Beverley.' In despair, I wrote to Mr. John Bickersteth, of Cottingham, who had kindly entertained me on the occasion of my visit, and had shewn me the glories of the Minster, and of St. Mary's Church, and my patience was rewarded.<sup>2</sup> *Bishop Fisher was born in Beverley.* What more natural, therefore, than that Fisher and Goes should have been acquainted, and that Fisher, in advising Lady Margaret in her work at her new

<sup>1</sup> 'Christ's College Magazine,' Vol. XXVI, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Miss Ruth Bickersteth, 21st May, 1912. If the suggestion thrown out in these concluding lines is ultimately found to be based on fact, it is a curiously interesting comment upon the opinion of Mr. T. D. Barlow ('Christ's College Magazine,' *loc. cit.* p. 54) that the block of the beam-paper was executed by a Cambridge workman. Fisher, in fact, was employing local talent.



foundation at Cambridge, should have employed a Beverley man?

Truly does Mr. Duff conclude his last Sandars Lectures on Bibliography, to which I have already alluded, with the words which I am never tired of quoting:

‘Perhaps what has struck you most is how much we have yet to learn on the subject, how little we really know. A good deal of what has been said has been, not about books which we possess, but about books which we have lost. A cloud of obscurity still hangs over the subject, but the cloud has a silver lining. Think how much there still remains for us to discover.’

CHARLES SAYLE.

## REVIEWS.

*Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München. Herausgegeben von Dr. Georg Leidinger. Heft 1. Das sogenannte Evangeliarium Kaiser Ottos III. Riehn & Tietze, München. pp. 23. With 52 plates.*



As a repository of illuminated manuscripts the Royal Library at Munich has few superiors. Indeed, its wealth in German illumination, especially of that notable period of the Ottonian dynasty, when Germany enjoyed an artistic hegemony that has but rarely fallen to her lot, is almost unrivalled. Dr. Leidinger has already done good service towards making its treasures better known through his useful 'Verzeichnis' of its most important illuminated manuscripts; and his present undertaking, which proposes a complete reproduction of their miniatures in a series of separate monographs, deserves the cordial support of all who are interested in mediæval art.

The subject of this, the opening number of the series, is aptly chosen. Few volumes in the library, probably, have been more widely discussed than the famous Gospel-book (Cimel. 58, Cod. lat. 4453) which Dr. Leidinger, with characteristic caution, entitles 'Das sogenannte Evangeliarium Kaiser Ottos III.'; and the bone of contention, the two-page dedication-picture, has often been reproduced. But students have hitherto been compelled, in default of an actual pilgrimage to Munich,

to content themselves with this and the few other pages which have been published, mostly on a greatly reduced scale, by Vöge ('Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends'), Haseloff ('Codex Gertrudianus'), and others: an unsatisfying diet, which only whets the appetite for a full meal such as that provided in these admirable autotype plates.

In his introduction Dr. Leidinger makes no attempt to supersede Vöge's masterly description of the manuscript, but gives a very careful and judicious summary of the literature of the subject, as well as a complete bibliography of each of the plates. In one modest sentence he signifies his adherence to Vöge's view, that the Emperor portrayed in the dedication-picture is probably Otto III. rather than Henry II.; and for our own part we have very little doubt that he is right. Absolute proof is not forthcoming at present, and perhaps never will be; but the whole style of the book, its obvious kinship with the Gospels and Psalter of Archbishop Egbert, seem to indicate Otto rather than his successor—apart from the other considerations which tend in the same direction. Its birthplace is, like its precise age, a matter of controversy; but there can be no doubt that it was produced at any rate under the influence of the Reichenau school. Its known history goes no further back than 1736, when it was in the Treasury of Bamberg Cathedral; it was transferred thence to Munich in 1803.

Like so many of the most sumptuous manuscripts of the early Middle Ages, it contains the Four Gospels

in Latin, preceded by the tables of Eusebian Canons. The latter are placed in elaborately decorated arcades or porticoes of the usual Carolingian style, lightened occasionally with spirited and amusing figures of birds or men. The dedication-picture, which follows the Canons, represents an Emperor enthroned between prelates and warriors, receiving tribute from female personifications of Rome, Gaul, Germany, and Slavonia. The miniatures of the four Evangelists are striking compositions of an unusual type, full of symbolic imagery; and the illustrations of the life and parables of Christ are very curious and interesting, showing, like those in the Codex Egberti, distinct reminiscences of the early Italo-Byzantine manner. In short, this manuscript is an important document for the history of Christian art, and Dr. Leidinger has earned our warm gratitude.

J. A. H.

*Die Kultur des modernen England in Einzeldarstellungen, etc.* Bd. 1. Dr. E. Schulze, *die geistige Hebung der Volksmassen in England*. Bd. 2. Dr. E. Schulze, *Volksbildung und Volkswohlfahrt in England*. Bd. 3. Prof. Dr. H. W. Singer, *der Præ-Raphaelismus in England*. Bd. 4. Berlepsch-Valendds, *die Gartenstadtbewegung in England. Ihre Entwicklung und ihr jetziger Stand*.

This series, published under the auspices of the Deutsch-Englisches Verständigungskomitee, is an admirable enterprise, to judge by its first four volumes. It is inexpensive and well got up, and

each book provides the German reader in a small compass with an excellent summary of the particular subject under discussion. The English reader, too, will find it very stimulating to see how his familiar notions appear in the dress of a foreign language and regarded from a foreign point of view. All the authors are very fair and reasonable in their estimates, and in particular it is gratifying to find how many kind things Herr von Berlepsch finds to say of Bournville, Letchworth, and the rest of our garden cities. This volume, with its excellent plans and illustrations, is perhaps the pick of the batch. Altogether the series may be cordially welcomed as a most praiseworthy attempt to enlighten that ignorance of each other's ways of thinking and doing which is beyond question the greatest obstacle to peace between the nations.

V. S.

*Victoria and Albert Museum Guides. Dickens Exhibition. March to October, 1912. With 8 illustrations. London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912. Price Sixpence. pp. 63.*

The congested condition of the April number of THE LIBRARY, which contained sixteen pages in excess of its normal number, crowded out a notice of this excellent Dickens Exhibition and no less excellent Guide. Since the Exhibition is still to be open for three months, this belated welcome may remind some readers of its existence. Through the bequest of John Forster the Victoria and Albert

Museum is splendidly rich in material relating to Charles Dickens, and it is improbable that any collection so rich in essentials as that here described could be got together elsewhere. It is true that Forster seems to have been unconscious of the charm of 'original wrappers,' and the largest fragment of the author's manuscript of 'Pickwick' is in the hands of an American collector, who has lately kindly given to the British Museum the leaf describing the immortal 'Swarry.' But here are MSS. of the 'Old Curiosity Shop,' part of 'Barnaby Rudge,' 'American Notes,' 'Martin Chuzzlewit,' 'The Chimes,' 'David Copperfield,' and many other books, besides corrected proofs, and numerous autograph letters. Through the bequest by Mrs. George Cruikshank of numerous prints and drawings by her husband these literary relics are supplemented by many interesting illustrations. The Guide describing all these treasures will be valued by all who care for Dickens.

A. W. P.